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AMERICAN  
PUBLIC ADDRESSES

EDITED BY

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## PREFACE.

American speeches have always been studied enthusiastically by Americans; not primarily because of their literary value, but because of their satisfying statement of American ideals. The words of Washington, Webster, and Lincoln express the national aspiration in ways that are forever memorable. Their phrases have passed into maxims and into the daily speech of their countrymen. The appeal they make is to the historical imagination, and that appeal is increased when the growth of the ideals presented by these men is traced in the earlier words of such patriots as Henry, Franklin, and Hamilton. It is further strengthened when the opposing ideals as set forth in the words of Douglas and Stephens are well understood. The re-statement of Americanism, made necessary by the outcome of the Civil War, and by the sudden rise of industrialism and the new democracy coincidently with the enlarged sense of world-responsibility that has latterly possessed American thinking, is best found in the words of Phillips, Grady, Cockran, and Angell. These men have put the dominant thought of the age into harmony with the traditional ideals of our republic; and each has done this in the presence of some "new occasion" that taught "new duties." This book provides a collection of speeches and papers sufficiently extensive to indicate the main line of development.

It happens also that the addresses included in this

volume illustrate the typical varieties of public speech,—the legislative speech of controversial or expository character, the farewell address, the eulogy, the commemorative and the anniversary oration, the debate, the inaugural address, the public letter, the literary estimate, the after-dinner speech, and the baccalaureate address.

The material provided in the introduction and in the notes will indicate clearly the direction which, in the opinion of the editor, the study of these American public addresses should take.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, January 9, 1910.

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## INTRODUCTION.

### OCCASIONS FOR SPEAKING.

It is often said that oratory is on the decline. The occasions are rare, we are told, when there is a real demand for it. The newspaper, the magazine, and the popular novel have come, usurping the function performed by the orator of the olden time. When, as in our day, many can write and practically all can read, why should any speak? It is doubtless true that oratory—in the sense of heightened appeal to the feelings—is not so often heard as formerly. It has almost disappeared from legislative halls and has become less frequent in courts of law and in some other places where it once flourished. But in the meantime, in these and a thousand other places, public speech of a less pretentious and less ardent sort,—addressed primarily not to the feelings, but to the reason,—has become almost a daily necessity. This increase in the number of situations calling for public address is due to the complexity of modern life. All of our professions and trades, all of our enterprises,—political, religious, philanthropic, educational, and social,—even our pleasures and sports, are highly organized. Each has its stated meetings, each its occasions for the oral communication of ideas and feelings. There probably never was a time when these occasions were half so numerous as they are today. As a result, the art of public speech has become less of a profession, less a matter of set rules and formulæ, less

## INTRODUCTION

the possession of a particular class of people exclusively devoted to its cultivation, and more of a staple need of the many. A good reason, this, why every educated person should wish to learn more about it. Carlyle congratulated the English on the fact that they were a nation of poor speakers. He thought that the less talking there was, the greater would be the amount of useful work accomplished. But since some talking is inevitable in order that work may be directed into channels that are worth while, it seems a strange reason for pride in any nation, or in any individual, that the thing is done poorly. Carlyle's friend, Emerson, had a better word for his countrymen, when he wrote that "if there ever was a country where eloquence was a power, it is in the United States. Here is room for every degree of it, on every one of its ascending stages,—that of useful speech in our commercial, manufacturing, railroad, and educational conventions; that of political advice and persuasion on the grandest theatre, reaching, as all good men trust, into a vast future, and so compelling the best thought and noblest administrative ability that the citizen can offer. And here are the services of science, the demands of art, and the lessons of religion, to be brought home to the instant practice of thirty millions of people. Is it not worth the ambition of every generous youth to train and arm his mind with all the resources of knowledge, of method, of grace, and of character, to serve such a constituency?"

### KINDS OF PUBLIC ADDRESS.

In the quotation just given, Emerson suggests a classification of speeches. The principle of his classification is the relative importance of their subject-matter.



His first division includes utterances of immediate practical utility, utterances that deal with affairs and that deal with affairs mainly on the matter-of-fact basis; beginning with commerce, but rising successively to the larger interests involved in manufacturing, in the railroad problem, in education. His second division includes those utterances that touch our political interests. It is higher than the first because here we have to deal not merely with matters of fact, but with matters of national sentiment and aspiration; consequently there is here offered a broader field for the element of advice and persuasion. His third division includes those utterances that deal with man's most vital interests, speeches of which the end is to render science, art, or religion most serviceable,—to make them a part of the life of every man. Here the field for the element of persuasion is widest. It is clear that Emerson's classification will apply equally well to written discourse and that it covers the field. It is as specific also as a classification of so many species can be made and remain a true classification. It would not be difficult to place any speech in one of Emerson's three divisions.

A classification on an entirely different principle was made by Aristotle. His principle of classification is the attitude of the audience toward the speech. Audiences, he says, are either judges of things done in the past, as are legal judges and juries; or they are judges of things proposed for the future, as are legislative or political assemblies; or they are judges of the speech itself considered merely as a work of art. Hence Aristotle classifies oratory as (1) judicial, or the oratory of the bar, the aim of which is the securing or protecting of personal rights by convincing and persuading judges and juries; (2) deliberative, or the oratory before con-

ventions, assemblies, legislatures, and public meetings, political, religious, commercial, or educational; and (3) epideictic, or the oratory of display, now more frequently called occasional oratory, under which heading modern writers who follow Aristotle have put practically all secular speaking that is not easily classified as judicial or deliberative,—the eulogy, the anniversary address, the dedicatory address, the popular lecture, the commencement address, the after-dinner speech, etc. To all this it is necessary to add (4) pulpit oratory, a species that has appeared since Aristotle wrote. The mere statement of this classification reveals its remoteness from modern life and its insufficiency as a classification of the multifarious public speaking of our day. The basis of the Aristotelian division is the mental attitude of the audience. But the psychology of audiences is not so simple a matter as this four-fold division assumes it to be. Emerson once called attention to the undoubted fact that every audience is composed of many audiences; that the speaker finds himself addressing now one, now another, of these lesser audiences; that very rarely, if ever, may a homogeneous state of mind be presumed in all listeners; that the very same listener may be successively in several mental attitudes during the same address. The principle by which orations are to be classified cannot, then, be a principle based solely upon a homogeneous state of mind which probably does not exist. It is clear, too, that the state of mind appealed to by a deliberative oration may be, perversely enough, that which this classification assigns exclusively to judicial oratory. Modern pulpit oratory, also, may be, and often is, judicial or deliberative in spirit; it may look either to the past or to the future. The epideictic was thought

by the Greeks to be best illustrated in the eulogy and the invective; but surely it is not just to regard these as forms of display and to judge them solely by artistic considerations. Even the modern oratorical contest, which is most often accused of being purely epideictic, rejects as inadequate this basis of judgment and demands a judgment based upon the value of the thought as well as upon the style and the delivery. In spite of all this, the psychological fact on which Aristotle based his classification remains true,—that a speaker must *consider* his audience and must try to adapt his material to what he supposes the mental state of a majority of his listeners to be. The ideal standard of speech thus becomes not mere self-expression, for self-expression implies no thought of the audience; but rather self-*communication*, which implies a constant effort to carry our ideas over to those who listen to us. This ideal standard we owe to Aristotle.

A third classification divides spoken discourse, as written discourse is usually divided, into descriptive, narrative, expository, and argumentative. The principle of division here is the rhetorical process employed. This classification makes no attempt to describe a eulogy, or a sermon, or a speech at the bar, or an after-dinner speech, or any other kind of speech, as a distinct species having a quality of its own that no other species possesses. It assumes that the vital characteristic of any utterance is not indicated by its popular class label. It assumes that eulogies, sermons, and the rest, differ so widely in variety and method, that no class characteristic that is at once useful and true can be found for each of them. But every speech may be examined for its rhetorical process, and this examination will show the fundamental types of oral discourse. This classification,

too, is imperfect; for a speech that is descriptive may use, as accessory to its purpose, narration, exposition, or argument, as it needs; and so with the others. The truth is that we must keep in mind all three of the systems of classification when studying any speech,—Emerson's, Aristotle's, and that of the rhetoricians,—if we would arrive at anything like a complete judgment; for (1) we must think of the importance of the subject-matter as Emerson thought of it; (2) we must think of the speech as an effort at communication with a certain audience, as Aristotle thought of it; and (3) we must think of the effectiveness of the process employed, as the rhetoricians enjoin.

### THE ORAL QUALITY.

Whatever their classification, most successful speeches have one marked characteristic in common. Even when reduced to print, they appeal primarily not to the eye but to the ear. The attentive reader feels called upon in imagination to hear a speech as he reads it. If his mind is active he images also the speaker, the audience, the occasion; and is impelled to find out as much as possible about the feelings that ruled the hearts of men when it was delivered. He is ready to make concessions to cover the loss which the spoken sentence may suffer when printed. The last paragraph of Stephens's speech on Secession (p. 172) for instance, contains faults that were doubtless overlooked by those listeners who shared the speaker's feelings. Speech has an excellence of its own, entirely apart from its literary quality. Moreover, in the leisure of reading, we often take pleasure in a certain subtlety and fineness of statement; we like to make our own inferences; we accept mere hints of what we are expected to think, and we have time to suspend

reading, if need be, in order to make sure of our ground. In spoken discourse, there is no time for this. The speaker must move forward to his conclusion by a simple plan and a directness of statement that leaves no doubts pending. A speech may have all of the literary virtues and may yet fail for lack of simplicity of structure and the easy intelligibility which comes from direct idiomatic statement. Having these latter, together with energy and insight into the meaning of the occasion, a speech will be effective, though it lack grace, suggestiveness, refinement, and even strict grammatical accuracy. We prize in a speech certain of the qualities of good conversation,—unpretentiousness, short and pointed phrasing—but not its waywardness; in a speech we look for the straight-forward march to partial and complete conclusions. These characteristics of speech, which may be called the oral (or, equally well, the *aural*) quality, are forced upon the speaker by the immediate presence of his audience. Some writers, too, are keenly conscious, while composing, of those whom they are addressing; they hear each sentence as they put it on paper. Their writing is essentially oral although it may never be spoken. Many an open letter or newspaper editorial, sometimes even a state paper, has this oral quality. Some spoken discourses lack it; they are essays rather than speeches, addressed to the eye rather than to the ear.

### FASHIONS IN PUBLIC ADDRESS.

While the notion of addressing a specific audience, with its resultant (the cultivation of the oral quality) has persisted since the days of Aristotle, and is, indeed, the explanation of the present ideal of public speech,—effective self-communication,—it is equally true that

fashions have changed in this as in the other arts. The essential worth and dignity of the old classical oratory cannot be questioned; yet its manner would by many be accounted mannerism today. For instance, public taste at the present time is somewhat intolerant of any but the most indirect and carefully disguised attempts at emotional appeal. We want the facts: the facts, we think, carry their own appeal; having the facts, we think that we know how to feel about them. Hence arises the greater share of the intellectual element in the speeches of today as compared with those of former times; and the more scrupulous regard for accuracy of statement. Hence, too, has come about the gradual abandonment of certain fashions that were once prevalent, and the adoption of new fashions. It was once the fashion, for example, for a young lawyer addressing a jury to refer humbly to his youth and inexperience, or to eulogize the jury system. It was once the fashion for a skillful speaker to apologize for a pretended lack of skill. It was once the fashion always to emphasize the importance of the subject, even though every one appreciated its importance. These things were not insincerities; they were the conventions of the moment; they were expected. It is the fashion today to do none of these things, to take much for granted, and (whether intrinsically a good fashion or not) to get speedily to the essential point to be presented, with very little preliminary or introductory matter. The fear of delay, the fear of over-formality, which prevails among speakers today, while generally wholesome, is doubtless the cause of a certain abruptness, nervousness, and undue haste, that are often noticeable in contemporary speaking. We have rid ourselves of indirection, and of tardiness in taking hold of our theme; but we

have sacrificed something of ease and grace in the process. To be always relentlessly business-like, direct, and practical in speech, may itself, at some future time, be criticised as a mannerism of the present age. There is, however, in modern speeches, a nicer adjustment of the time-element to the importance of the message. Economy of time has become a paramount consideration. Speakers today usually know, beforehand, how much time they are expected to occupy, and govern themselves accordingly.

### METHODS.

Not only do oratorical fashions change from age to age, but at any given moment there are marked differences of method. Among the Greeks, for instance, most of the orators and teachers insisted upon elevation of thought and sentiment, with diction to match, as essential to a good speech; but then, as now, there were successful speakers who, like Andocides, professed a contempt for the rules of rhetoric and for any serious study of the art which they themselves practised; who paid little attention to arranging their material in an orderly way; who relied on a fund of good stories to help them in times of need; and who advised speakers to trust to their native gifts, and to the inspiration of the occasion. There were some, like Hyperides, who advocated a conversational manner, the plainest of plain speech, and a large use of colloquialism, in opposition to those who advised the cultivation of a more dignified, stately, or highly ornate diction. Some studied the art of the public actors in order to learn "the outer signs of eloquence" and thus cultivated a theatrical manner of speaking; others, disdaining this as shallow trickery, studied the art of being artless. There were those, however, who advocated

the sound principle that the cultivation of the "inner spirit,"—the systematic and prolonged education of the mind and heart, the achievement of a strong character,—should precede and accompany the study of the "outer signs." Many followed Æschines in practising written composition assiduously and in studying general literature and philosophy, as essential elements in the education of a speaker. Demosthenes, the greatest of Greek orators, illustrated the value of unremitting and purposeful labor. In order to overcome defects of voice, articulation, breathing, and physical manner, he imposed upon himself arduous exercises through a series of years; he watched the ways of the actors and of other professional speakers, and imitated them in those points which seemed appropriate to his own personality and temperament. He gave seven years of his life to practising written composition and to studies in history, law, and statesmanship. Believing that he could win no lasting success without worthy thinking, he endeavored in all of his studies to find out what was fundamentally right and not merely what was expedient, in order that, throughout his life, he might habitually and unconsciously apply the highest test to every question that he might be called upon to discuss. In thus devoting himself primarily to gaining sound knowledge and to developing moral earnestness, while steadily learning, through practice and a study of models, the approved modes of speech that were suitable to himself as an individual, he set for all time the example of a sound method of training for effective self-communication on any subject of discussion; a method involving first, adequate knowledge of the facts to be discussed; secondly, the ability and the disposition to apply principles of right and wrong to the facts as



ascertained; thirdly, attention to the best way of presenting the matter. The Greek and Latin writers on public speaking devoted a great deal of discussion to the first and second of these points. Later writers have said less about these, devoting their attention almost exclusively to the art of presentation; but always assuming the preëminent importance of knowledge and sincerity.

### THE PARTS OF A DISCOURSE.

The usual division of any discourse is into (1) introduction (see pp. 10-14), (2) discussion (pp. 14-30), and (3) conclusion (pp. 30-31). These terms suggest little more than beginning, middle, end. The ancient writers enumerated the following as parts of an address: introduction, the narration or exposition, the proposition, the confirmation, the refutation, the conclusion; and some added the excursus or digression. This minuter division is still useful as indicating certain elements that enter or may enter into the make-up of a speech, certain functions to be performed, or, for good reason, to be consciously left unperformed. In most argumentative discourses, for example, a formal narration or exposition of facts as a separate part, preliminary to the proposition and the confirmation or proof, is unnecessary: yet the element of narration or exposition will appear at any stage of the discourse as needed. Likewise proof and refutation may or may not constitute the main body of a discourse: in a discourse that is essentially narrative or expository, argument may be absent altogether, while in others there is nothing but argument. The proposition, or, if there be no proposition, the subject, can hardly be considered a part of discourse, yet its enumeration with the parts points clearly to the need

of some unifying element in every discourse; and indeed the excursus, or the digression, an element now almost universally condemned as lacking all excuse for being, was originally offered in answer to the human need of relief from too strict an adherence to the logic of the subject and as an opportunity for the speaker to unburden his mind on any matter that logic would exclude from his discourse. We shall adopt as parts of discourse the introduction, the discussion, and the conclusion; and, in the treatment of each, we shall ask what elements may properly enter into its make-up.

**1. The Introduction.** The work of the introduction is to provide all that is needed by way of preliminary information and in order to secure a favorable disposition towards the ideas that are to follow in the discussion. Ancient writers, however, restricted the introduction to the work of gaining the active good will of the audience. They assigned to another part of the discourse the work of giving preliminary information. The chief function of the introduction, they thought, is to overcome hostility in the mind of the audience, should hostility exist; to win attention, and to create an interest in the subject, leaving no hearer in a state of indifference. One of the best recommendations of Aristotle may be stated thus: the way to gain good will is to show good will. This is precisely what we find in the complimentary reference of Henry's opening lines (p. 33), in Franklin's second sentence (p. 39), and in Grady's second paragraph (p. 242). In all of these instances, too, the speaker feels that he is encountering those who think differently from himself about the matter under discussion, and he establishes favorable relations by expressing the respect and good will that he feels. But in general, good will is made apparent in modern speeches more

often in the tone and spirit of the opening than in any direct statement.

A second method of gaining good will is the appeal, direct or indirect, to community of interest, or to class or party spirit. The tacit assumption in this appeal is that because speaker and audience are of the same nationality, church, political party, school, club, social class, trade, profession, or other occupation, enjoy the same intellectual pursuits, or even the same sports, they will be inclined to agree in all matters. Evidences of this kind of appeal appear in Franklin's identification of himself with his colleagues (p. 37). He does not divide the convention into two parties, the one wishing for prayers, the other never thinking of such a thing; he does not assume a greater piety than his colleagues possess; all have been alike forgetful. He classifies himself *with* his audience. Webster, eulogizing Washington, naturally touches the chord of patriotism; and at the outset of the Monument Address (p. 87) he voices the common feeling as he conceives it. His second paragraph (p. 87) is devoted exclusively to the patriotic note. Phillips, also, (p. 209) emphasizes class spirit when he attributes a distinctive characteristic to American scholarship. Cockran's first sentence (p. 255) imputes to all of his hearers a common admiration for the work of the Constitution-builders.

While showing good will, however, while seeking to identify himself with his audience, the speaker must not surrender any of his convictions or any of his self-respect. As Aristotle long ago pointed out, a speaker commends himself chiefly by his good judgment and reasonableness, by his reliance on his own worth and the worth of his message. But modern taste forbids him to assert his good qualities. A speaker's reasonableness,

his worth, his virtue, or strength, declare themselves in his treatment of his theme. The personal introduction in political or other controversy, however, is still common, and, indeed, is unavoidable when the speaker has been made the object of criticism and thus has himself become part of the matter at issue. It occurs frequently in the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and in the campaign speeches of rival candidates for office it is always to be expected. It is used with a fine reticence in Washington's Farewell Address (p. 48) and with solemn effectiveness in Lincoln's Independence Hall address (p. 174). But, excepting instances of obvious necessity, like those just named, the personal introduction will not often suggest itself in these days as an easy or appropriate method of beginning.

Closely related to the personal introduction, and often employed in connection with it, is the introduction based upon the importance of the subject. This is illustrated in the first paragraph on page 33; but it is to be noted that Henry used it, ostensibly, as the excuse or reason for his abrupt and plain manner of speech. As a general rule in modern addresses the importance of the subject is a thing to be assumed rather than directly asserted. The importance of the subject is either self-evident at the outset or is to be made evident by the whole discourse. It should be recognized by the audience as a result of the speech, rather than declared by the speaker at the beginning.

Probably the easiest and most economical introductions are those which are based on some pertinent remark that has been made by another. An introduction of this kind seems to continue a discussion already begun in people's minds, and offers a point of departure either in harmony with the quoted sentiment or in

contrast with it. The introduction by anecdote belongs to this class. The Grady Speech (p. 242) illustrates well both of these varieties of beginning.

Whatever the subject matter chosen for the introduction it must, in order to suit the modern taste, bear close relevance to the theme of the discourse. The irrelevant introduction advocated by some, practised by many, may be attractive in itself, but it arouses expectations that are destined not to be fulfilled, and its final effect, when it is recalled by a hearer, is to diminish the total influence of the speech. Nowhere is there greater danger, than in the introduction, of violating unity of tone. If the introduction is keyed at too high an elevation of thought or feeling or is too finely finished, the speaker may later find himself unable to maintain the level on which he started and the decline to a lower level is sure to be disappointing. Speakers of experience are usually wary of this danger and prefer to begin on a level from which it will not be difficult to rise as the essential parts of the discourse are taken up. The summit of an inclined plane is not a good point of departure in any discourse. Among the best exemplars of moderation and restraint in introducing a discourse, was Wendell Phillips, a fact the more striking since moderation and restraint were characteristic only of his manner, and not at all of his thinking. Those who listened to him for the first time, aware of his great fame, might experience some disappointment of their high expectations for a little while after he had begun to speak; it was all so unassuming, quite on the conversational level; but the temporary disappointment served only to put them in readiness to rise with the speaker to the higher levels of his discourse as he reached these. On the other hand, the splendid introductions

of Webster must have put many of his first hearers in fear that no man, however great, could begin on so high a plane and maintain himself there for long.

The usual advice to the inexperienced is to prepare the introduction after the body of the discourse has been written. The advice is sound if understood as a warning against a pretentious, a trite, or a far-fetched introduction, or against one that for any reason is out of tune with the prevailing note of the discourse. The further advice that if an appropriate introduction has not suggested itself by the time the body of the discourse is completed, all attempt at introduction should be given up, is also sound. Earlier writers on oratory provided for this very contingency by naming one of their varieties of introduction "the abrupt beginning." To this advice may be added the reminder, contained in a word of Walter Bagehot's, that excepting in times of great excitement an audience begins to listen in a decidedly "factish" frame of mind. At the outset it prefers the particular rather than the general, facts rather than principles, the specific instance rather than the universal truth, the intellectual rather than the emotional.

**2. The Discussion.** The main body of an address includes one or more of the following elements: (1) a division or partition of the subject, (2) definition, (3) narration, description, or exposition, (4) proofs and refutation. The order in which these things appear in an address is determined by the nature of the address. One or more of them may in many cases be omitted altogether. Attention to the first will always be necessary.

(1) The division or partition of the material is not often formally announced in the finished address, as was once the custom. When it is so announced it is usually

accounted a part of the introduction. Yet it is with the organization of the body of the discourse that the partition is concerned; and, in any event, there must be in the preparation of a discussion a division or partition of the material with a view to orderly presentation. Waiving the question whether the partition is at the end of the introduction or at the beginning of the discussion, we may say that the best division is the simplest and most natural, with each part distinct from the others, yet with all the parts standing in intelligible relationship to one another and to the main idea. In spoken more than in written discourse, the plan must be perfectly clear, because the hearer has no time to think back over the speech in order to consider relationships of ideas. He is occupied with the passing word. One test of a speech is the possibility of reproducing its plan in an obviously consecutive outline. In a speech that is mainly argumentative like Hamilton's (p. 44) such an outline will reveal a debatable proposition followed by arguments supporting it, each in its logical place, and each, when necessary, supported by subordinate arguments. In an address of the expository class, like Webster's on The Bunker Hill Monument (p. 87) there is no debatable proposition; there is only a broad general subject certain aspects of which the speaker chooses to explain; there is perhaps only an occasion, requiring a voice to express its dominant mood. The plan of such a discourse will show the chief ideas in their relationship; but will fail to reproduce what is most characteristic and valuable in the speech, the element of personality, the emotional uplift. It is likely, therefore, to be much less satisfactory as a graphic representation of the speech, than the brief of an argumentative address. A study of the following

outline of Webster's speech and the brief of Hamilton's argument, in connection with the addresses themselves, will illustrate all of these points.

## OUTLINE OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ADDRESS.

### INTRODUCTION.

1. Impressiveness of the occasion (p. 87, ll. 1-8).
2. Patriotic memories and hopes peculiar to Americans inspired (p. 87, l. 9—p. 89, l. 17).
  - I. By the significance to them of the date and place (p. 87, l. 9—p. 88, l. 7).
  - II. By the significance to them of the discovery of America (p. 88, ll. 8-23).
  - III. By the significance to them of colonial history (p. 88, l. 24—p. 89, l. 8).
  - IV. By the significance to them of the Revolution (p. 89, ll. 9-17).

### DISCUSSION.

- A. Purposes of the Society in providing for the Monument (p. 89, l. 18—p. 90, l. 2).
  - I. Not that a monument is necessary, but to show our appreciation of the deeds of our ancestors, to keep alive similar sentiments and to foster a regard for the principles of the Revolution (p. 90, ll. 3-26).
  - II. Not to cherish hostility or the military spirit, but to express our sense of the benefits which have come through the events commemorated (p. 90, l. 27—p. 91, l. 29).
- B. Mighty events in America and Europe since the Revolution (p. 91, l. 30—p. 93, l. 18).
- C. Apostrophe to the survivors of the Revolution (p. 93, l. 19—p. 94, l. 20).



- D. Tribute to the patriotic dead (p. 94, l. 21—p. 95, l. 1), especially to Warren (p. 95, l. 2—p. 95, l. 19).
- E. Address to the living survivors (p. 95, l. 20—p. 96, l. 23).
- F. The unity of spirit in the Colonies and the effect of the Battle of Bunker Hill, especially upon La Fayette (p. 96, l. 24—p. 100, l. 25).
- G. Eulogy on La Fayette (p. 100, l. 26—p. 102, l. 7).
- H. Improvement in the world since the Battle of Bunker Hill, especially in politics and government (p. 102, l. 8).
  - I. Diffusion of knowledge and community of ideas; with results (p. 102, l. 23—p. 103, l. 33).
  - II. Difference between the Revolution in America and the French Revolution (p. 124, l. 28).
    - a. America was accustomed to representative government (p. 105, ll. 4-30).
    - b. Europe was a stranger to the popular principle (p. 105, l. 31—p. 106, l. 4).
    - c. Europe has, however, gained by the change (p. 106, ll. 4-21).
      - (1) Everywhere there is a desire for popular government (p. 106, ll. 22-32).
  - III. The influence of world opinion upon arbitrary governments (p. 106, l. 33—p. 107, l. 19). The case of Greece (p. 107, l. 20—p. 108, l. 33).
  - IV. The rise of independent states in South America (p. 108, l. 34—p. 110, l. 6).
- I. The influence of the example of America (p. 110, l. 7).
  - I. It proves that free government may be safe and just (p. 110, ll. 13-19).
  - II. If we fail, free government will perish from the earth (p. 110, l. 20—p. 111, l. 2).
  - III. Free government may be as permanent as any other (p. 111, ll. 3-13).

## CONCLUSION.

The duty of America is to preserve what the fathers won and to increase the spirit of union.

## BRIEF OF THE ARGUMENT ON COERCION OF DELINQUENT STATES.

## INTRODUCTION.

1. My purpose is to discuss certain arguments advanced yesterday (p. 44, l. 1).
2. It is inconsistent to assert that the old Confederation needs many material amendments and at the same time to deny that its defects are the cause of our political weakness (p. 44, l. 10). Instead of trying to amend the old Confederation, we should abolish it entirely and adopt the new constitution.

## DISCUSSION.

- A. The radical vice of the old Confederation is that the laws of the Union apply only to States in their corporate capacity (p. 44, l. 15). For
  - I. Each state has the constitutional right to resist a law of Congress (p. 45, l. 1).
  - II. The states have used the right of resistance with disastrous results (p. 45, l. 2). For
    - a. They have embarrassed the Central Government by taking different courses. For
      1. A state has executed the requisitions of Congress only if favorable to its own interests (p. 45, l. 9).
      2. A state has disregarded the requisitions of Congress if unfavorable to its own interests (p. 45, l. 10).
    - b. They have been remiss in duty even under the pressure of a common danger (p. 45, l. 12). For
      1. New York has been compelled to pay more than its share by the delinquency of other states.

III. The states will not respond to requisitions in time of security (p. 45, l. 28). For

a. There is no incentive to exertion (p. 45, l. 25). For

1. When danger is distant its impression is weak (p. 45, l. 28).

2. When danger affects only our neighbors, we will not provide against it (p. 45, l. 29).

B. The remedy is to adopt the new constitution enabling the national laws to operate on individual states (p. 46, l. 27). For

I. The proposal to coerce delinquent states is absurd (p. 45, l. 33). For

a. Attempted coercion would result in civil war (p. 46, l. 3). For

1. It sets states that pay at war with states that will not pay (p. 46, l. 8).

b. It means either a Federal Standing Army to enforce requisitions on delinquent states or a central government without money (p. 46, l. 23). For

1. No state would ever suffer Congress to use it as an instrument of coercion against another state (p. 46, l. 20).

II. The proposal to take the old Federation as the basis of a system is impossible (p. 46, l. 33). For

a. To entrust the sword and purse without restriction to a single chamber would establish a despotism (p. 47, l. 3). For

1. Unlimited power over taxation and a standing army is too great for a single chamber to exercise (p. 47, l. 15). For

- a. Power needs to be divided between two chambers that will check one another, as provided in the new Constitution (p. 47, l. 17).

#### CONCLUSION.

Adopt the new Constitution (p. 47, l. 22).

A comparison of these two plans discloses the greater freedom of the expository address. Webster is in complete control of his material; he divides it as he will, for the subject and the occasion do not rigidly prescribe what points he shall take up. There is no logical proposition to impose requirements upon him in the matter of division, subdivision, and proof. To be sure we may reduce the whole address to the form of a syllogism if we wish:

*Major Premise.* All true patriots who have made sacrifices that their country might furnish to the world an illustrious example of freedom, good government and prosperity, should be gratefully honored by their countrymen.

*Minor Premise.* The heroes of the American Revolution have made sacrifices that their country might, etc.

*Conclusion.* The heroes of the American Revolution should be gratefully honored by their countrymen.

Nothing is gained, however, by applying this strict logical test to an address the chief aim of which is not to prove a proposition, but to deepen feeling and to increase appreciation. To treat it as we treat an argumentative discourse is to reduce it to a string of platitudes, and to miss all that gives it distinction.

It is to be noted, however, that while Webster is free

to select what topics he wishes, we find no waywardness or eccentricity in the selection. The topics are eminently appropriate to the subject and the occasion; each is distinct from the others; each follows the preceding topic naturally. As we pass from one to the next we are made to feel their relationship. In some cases it is a relationship of similarity or contrast; the apostrophe to the survivors (C) suggests the tribute to the patriotic dead (D) and this in turn suggests the address to the living (E). In other cases it is a relationship of cause and effect; the eulogy of LaFayette (G) follows as a natural effect of the facts cited just before under (F); the apostrophe to the survivors (C) is the natural effect of the recital of the mighty events referred to under (B); the improvement in the world (H) is the effect of the diffusion of knowledge and community of ideas (H-I); the difference between the Revolution in America and in Europe (H-II) is accounted for by a recital of causes (H-II a-b). In still other cases it is a relationship neither of similarity and contrast nor of cause and effect, but ideas follow one another because they are felt to be in contiguity, that is near to one another, either near in time, as in the narrative portions, or near in thought. The influence of world opinion upon arbitrary governments (H-III) is near in thought to the preceding topic, the desire for popular government everywhere; the case of Greece suggests the case of the states of South America (IV). Thus it is easy to account for the position of each topic in the discussion and to find a reason why it is where we find it.

We notice also the use of climax in the arrangement of the divisions. The first climax is reached at p. 91, l. 29; the second at p. 96, l. 23; the third at the close of the eulogy of LaFayette, p. 102, l. 7; the fourth at p. 108,

l. 33; the last in the conclusion of the speech. The general arrangement is in accordance with the usual principles of cause and effect, similarity and contrast, and contiguity.

Turning now to the brief of Hamilton's argumentative address\* we see that the arrangement is necessarily by the method of cause and effect. The two divisions (A and B) read as reasons for the main propositions, and every subdivision reads as a reason for the division of next higher rank. Every statement in the brief is a complete sentence. Accordingly we have propositions of one rank supporting propositions of a higher rank. The main divisions are simple and natural and distinct; first the vice of the old Confederation; secondly, the cure proposed for this vice. These two divisions are inevitable. No matter who should have attempted to argue this question he would have been logically compelled by the proposition to take up the same two points that Hamilton took up, the evil and the remedy. It is true of all argumentative discourse that the proposition logically demands of the speaker attention to certain essential divisions that are implied in the proposition itself. In an expository discourse, the speaker makes his own theme and rules it throughout; in the argumentative discourse the proposition rules the speaker and compels him to conform to its logical demands.

In the argumentative discourse the divisions are the chief points at issue and taken together they must completely cover the field of dispute. Hence the need that they should include attention to all possible proposals that can reasonably be offered on the subject. We

\* The method used in this brief is but one of several good methods of brief-drawing. The syllogistic method may be used equally well.

notice in the second division of Hamilton's speech that this is the method employed. The logic of it is this: there are three and only three remedies offered to cure the vice that I have demonstrated in the old Confederation. The first remedy is to coerce delinquent states. The second remedy is to take the old Confederation as the basis of a new system. The third is to adopt the new constitution that is now before you. But the first remedy is absurd and the second is impossible. It remains, therefore, to adopt the third. This particular method of division is called the method of exclusions; it enumerates all proposals and rules out all but the one desired. The chief danger in its use lies in an incomplete enumeration; there might possibly be another alternative that the speaker had not thought of.

(2) The second element that may enter into the body of a discourse is definition. When this term is used most people think only of the kind of definition that is found in the dictionaries, a single sentence giving the meaning of a term in other words that are likely to be better understood, a sentence that puts the thing to be defined into its proper genus or class and then gives its difference from the other members of the class. This kind of formal definition is almost always necessary in argumentative discourse, especially in debate. Before a proposition is discussed its terms must be understood.

But the word definition has a much wider meaning. It means all those processes of explanation, illustration, and example that set the limits of an idea. Phillips's entire speech is definitive in this sense; its result is a clearer idea of the American scholar. It shows what he has been, what he is, and what he should be. Lincoln's letter to Greeley is definitive of Lincoln's policy;

it sets the limits of that policy and tells both what it includes and what it does not include. President Angell's address on Patriotism and International Brotherhood affords a striking example of definition in its wider sense. The title calls attention to two ideas that are often thought to be in opposition, even in irreconcilable opposition. The discourse sets the limits of each idea and reconciles the apparent conflict between them. Definition may be incidental and may appear in a discourse wherever it is needed, or it may be the main object of a discourse and may dictate the method of dealing with the whole subject. The general method involved in a definitive discourse is the method of inquiry or the inductive method. Beginning with the common opinion of the thing to be defined, or with two contrasting opinions, the definitive discourse proceeds step by step to give precision and accuracy to our thoughts about the matter, to enlarge or restrict them as desired, and finally arrives at a satisfactory limitation of the ideas involved. Whether formally expressed as the conclusion or not, a definition is the end reached by such an address.

(3) Narration, description, or exposition may also enter into a discourse. Each, like the element of definition, may be found on a very restricted scale, in one place in the discourse, or may be scattered through the discourse, appearing wherever it is needed; and, like the element of definition, each may be merely incidental or may dominate the whole discourse and determine its method. Older writers conceived of the narration as a separate and distinct part of the discourse, immediately following the exordium, or introduction, and immediately preceding the formal statement of the partition or division. They



thought of it as a preliminary recital of facts or events which must be understood before proof and refutation could be profitably presented. When the facts or events were well known, the narration was to be omitted. The narration, when expressed, was to be persuasive; it was to foreshadow the proof and prepare the way for it, but was not to pretend to be proof itself. In modern public address we find this procedure still common and necessary in argumentative discourse, especially in debate; only here, in most cases, the narration would be more accurately called the description or the exposition, for it both recites facts and explains them. If the proposition refers to the past, some historical narrative will be unavoidable, early in the discussion. A present day proposition also may require preliminary narration, description, and exposition. Thus the proposition, "The present British ministry should be sustained in making the taxation of land values a part of its 1909 budget," would certainly require a preliminary description of the economic conditions in England that make new sources of revenue necessary, a historical narrative showing what have been the customary sources of revenue in the past, a definition of the term "taxation of land values," and an exposition of certain principles of taxation. In the words of the older writers on rhetoric and oratory, "*The present state of the question must be made clear by narrative and exposition.*" The second paragraph of Webster's Bunker Hill oration performs a function analagous to that of the narration in an argumentative discourse; but in most expository addresses the narration is not concentrated in one part of the discourse. In sermons the place of the narration is supplied by the scripture reading that precedes. In sermons of the traditional type there was usually, in addition to this,

an explanation of doctrine, definitive in character, just before the partition was announced.

What is a single feature of one address may be the entire substance of another: some addresses are essentially all narration, description, or exposition. The eulogy, for example, may be in its fundamental structure a narration. Superimposed upon this narration there will be a mass of description and exposition, the purpose of which is character interpretation. The biographical sketch preceding an appreciation of character is narration and description combined. If interpreted as standing in the relation of cause and effect to the work and influence of the life, it precisely fulfills the function of the narration in an argumentative discourse.\* In most expository addresses, however, narration, description, definition, and explanation are scattered through the discourse. Thus in Webster's Bunker Hill address, the narrative is not all given in the second paragraph; after the first climax there are two pages of narrative (p. 91, l. 30—p. 93, l. 18) that furnish the basis of the address to the survivors. On p. 96, l. 24 begins another section of the narration covering more than three pages, leading up to the address to LaFayette. Indeed, after every one of Webster's climaxes the discourse is resumed on the narrative plane.

But the chief use of the narrative and descriptive parts of an expository address is to furnish the necessary amplification of the principal ideas of the discourse. Typical means of amplification are necessarily resorted to in every expository discourse. One of these is repetition of an idea in other words. This is especially necessary when the idea is not liked, or is

\*See also p. 299.

somewhat difficult of apprehension, or, being essential, is to be made emphatic. Instances abound in Washington's Farewell Address. A case in point is the passage on page 56, lines 2 to 18. The idea of respect for the Federal Government is repeated in almost every sentence; and from line 19 to line 34, on page 56, the repetition is made by presenting the contrary of this idea, by dwelling upon the things that mean disrespect for the government.

Another of the means of amplification is enumeration. After declaring that every portion of our country has motives to guard the Union of the whole, Washington enumerates in one paragraph (p. 52, l. 30) the special motives that should act upon the North, the South, the East, and the West. A third means of amplification is the use of example. Washington refers (p. 55, ll. 9 to 20) to the treaty with Spain and to that with England as examples of the nation-wide and non-sectional policy of the general government. The relative amount of amplification devoted to different ideas indicates their relative importance.

(4) A fourth element that may enter into the body of an address is proof and refutation. In an argumentative discourse it is naturally the chief element. But it may enter into a discourse of the expository type as an ancillary or subsidiary element. Thus in Washington's Farewell Address the section on "the baneful effects of the spirit of party" (p. 58, l. 6—p. 59, l. 23) is clearly argumentative. Party spirit should be repressed in a republic because (a) it means a revengeful despotism of the victorious faction over the defeated faction, (b) the despotism of factions alternately in power leads to intolerable disorders and miseries, (c) and these may incline men finally to seek security by

setting up an individual despot, (d) even though it does not go so far as this, it enfeebles the public administration, (e) fomentinsurrection, and (f) opens the door to foreign interference. This also illustrates the kind of proof called the chain of reasoning from cause to effect.

Another kind of proof is the specific instance. The specific instances of disorder, insurrection, governmental embarrassment, foreign interference supported by domestic faction, were too recent to require mention: they were matters of common knowledge. The appeal to common knowledge or to universal experience is often offered in this way as a substitute for specific instances. One form of this appeal is the proverb and the maxim.

Instead of, or in addition to, the specific instances cited or the common knowledge appealed to, reference may be made to the testimony of individuals or to the authority of books or of experts. It is usually necessary in employing this argument—the argument from authority—to show that the authority quoted is competent to speak to the point in issue, is disinterested and unprejudiced and entirely worthy of confidence. We note that Douglas in explaining the mistake with which Lincoln had charged him, is careful to attend to these matters (p. 139, ll. 10-20). The argument derived from what we know of human nature, which Franklin employs in the first three pages of his speech (pp. 39-41) and which Washington employs repeatedly in the Farewell Address, is a common form of the argument from cause to effect.

The order in which arguments shall be arranged must be determined anew for every address. Each address has its own logic, its own natural order, and the re-

quirements of coherence are supreme. The advice is often given, not to place a weak argument first; but there is really no good place for a weak argument; a weak argument will not knowingly be used at all if a speaker discovers its weakness in time. The subject itself, the form of statement which the proposition takes, will always suggest some logical order for the argument, and this order will in general be the best and the most economical. But this order may be modified to meet the state of mind of the audience. It is well, for instance, to begin with an argument with which people are familiar; rather than with one that has been developed by research. It is well to begin with an argument that can be dealt with briefly, conclusively and simply, rather than with one that requires nicety of distinction and extended reasoning. It is well to close with the argument that the speaker himself values most. But all of these suggestions must give way in favor of logic and coherence.

The work of refutation is as important as the work of affirmation or direct proof. It consists not merely in replying to arguments that have actually been advanced, but also in considering unspoken objections that naturally suggest themselves. An argument is refuted either by disproving the fact on which it is based, or by disproving the inference that has been drawn from the fact. Lincoln (pp. 114-115) answering the seven interrogatories put to him, first denies point-blank the fact on which each inference is based; and then (pp. 116-118) takes up each question a second time, explaining more fully his position on each and guarding himself against too broad or too narrow an inference from his first answers. On page 120, the refutation is a denial of the fact. When the fact is admitted to be

true and the inference drawn from it is true in part, and false in part, the refutation is effected by pointing out the distinction as Washington does (p. 59, ll. 9-23) in admitting the advantage of party spirit in a monarchy but denying its advantage in a republic. It does not follow (*non sequitur*), he says, that because party spirit is useful in Europe, it should be encouraged in America.

In Hamilton's speech (p. 46, ll. 20-25) we have another device of refutation—the dilemma. Hamilton has shown that the states cannot be depended upon to coerce one another. Then if delinquent states are to be coerced at all, they must be coerced by a Federal Army, or the Federal Treasury will be left unsupplied with funds. But it would be unsafe to put the army and the taxing power under the control of a single chamber like that provided for in the Articles of Confederation. We must, therefore, adopt the new Constitution which provides for two chambers, a Senate and a House, with other checks and safeguards. Here one dilemma follows another in quick succession.

In connection with refutation, sometimes as a substitute for it, the personal argument and the retort, are likely to appear. The Lincoln-Douglas debate supplies several instances of each (pp. 113, 114, 120, 121, 123, 127, 129, 130, 137, 140). The destructive work of refutation is so closely interwoven with the constructive work of affirmation that each part of it is naturally associated with some one of the direct proofs and the two should be usually presented together or in close sequence. It often happens that the refutation of some prejudicial argument that is widely believed, is necessary at the beginning of the argument.

**3. The Conclusion.** One purpose of the conclusion is

to sum up in brief the whole matter that has been discussed. In an argumentative discourse the summary will often be bare and formal, recalling in order the points argued in the discussion. In an expository discourse the summary will not be made as an exact repetition, but will be presented with some variation and addition. Thus Phillips (p. 241, ll. 4-11) while summarizing his points, makes a direct call for action; and Stephens (pp. 172-173), while summarizing his, makes them count as an appeal to patriotism and self-interest. Often in an expository address the place of the summary is occupied by an enforcement of the theme as a whole, or by a heightened treatment of the one chief point of the discussion, as in Grady's address (p. 253). Another purpose of the conclusion is to afford opportunity for a final appeal to the feelings. Here, if anywhere, the audience is prepared to receive such an appeal. The conclusion of Lincoln's First Inaugural (pp. 187-188) and that of Grady's address (p. 253) are highly persuasive partly on account of the introduction of the prophetic element and the element of faith in the supremacy of man's better impulses. An apt quotation often does this work most effectively. The conclusion should be brief and direct. It should be closely related in thought and spirit to the thought and spirit of the whole discourse.

#### SUMMARY OF THE PLAN OF STUDY.

The topics discussed in the preceding pages are the principal things to consider in the study of a speech. First of all, it is profitable to learn something of the speaker, the audience, and the occasion for speaking; then it is wise to place the speech in its class; next, it is well to mark the most conspicuous evidences of the

oral quality in the speech and the favorite devices of the speaker. Finally will come the division of the speech into its logical parts and a study of its rhetorical and literary methods. In all of this work the student should keep in mind the fact that those who made these speeches were men with a message, men with a purpose to bring things to pass, men whose chief interest was in ideas rather than forms of expression, in thought rather than style. The chief prerequisite, therefore, to an appreciation of their work is a mastery of their ideas and their principles.



## SPEECH ON A RESOLUTION TO PUT VIRGINIA INTO A STATE OF DEFENCE

PATRICK HENRY

Richmond, Va., March 23, 1775.

MR. PRESIDENT—No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the house. But different men often see the same subject in different  
5 lights; and, therefore, I hope it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen, if, entertaining, as I do, opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely and without reserve. This is no time for ceremony. The question before the  
10 house is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive  
15 at truth, and fulfil the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offence, I should consider myself as guilty of treason towards my country, and of an act of disloyalty toward  
20 the Majesty of Heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings.

Mr. President, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren, till

she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those, who, having, eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst, and to provide for it. 5

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided; and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years, to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the house? Is it that 15 insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; It will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with those warlike preparations which 20 cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled, that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, Sir. These are the imple- 25 ments of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy, in this 30 quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us: they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains,

which the British ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer upon the subject?

5 Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find, which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive our-  
10 selves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done, to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the  
15 tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne! In vain,  
20 after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to  
25 abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon, until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained—we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of  
30 Hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and

when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance, by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound 5 us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any 10 force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to 15 the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat, but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains 20 of Boston! The war is inevitable—and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come.

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, Peace, peace—but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale, that sweeps from 25 the north, will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and 30 slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!

## A MOTION FOR PRAYERS

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

From Madison's Journal of the Constitutional Convention.

MR. PRESIDENT—The small progress we have made after four or five weeks close attendance and continual reasonings with each other—our different sentiments on almost every question, several of the last producing  
5 as many noes as ayes—is, methinks, a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding. We indeed seem to feel our own want of political wisdom, since we have been running about in search of it. We have gone back to ancient history for models of gov-  
10 ernment, and examined the different forms of those republics which, having been formed with seeds of their own dissolution, now no longer exist. And we have viewed modern states all round Europe, but find none of their constitutions suitable to our circumstances.

15 In this situation of this Assembly, groping as it were in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, Sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of lights, to illuminate  
20 our understandings? In the beginning of the contest with Great Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayer in this room for the divine protection. Our prayers, Sir, were heard, and they were graciously answered. All of us who were engaged in  
25 the struggle must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind

Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful friend? Or do we imagine that we no longer need his assistance? I have lived, Sir, a long time, and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth—that *God governs in the affairs of men*. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? We have been assured, Sir, in the sacred 10 writings, that “except the Lord build the house they labor in vain that build it.” I firmly believe this; and I also believe that without his concurring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel. We shall be divided by our little 15 partial local interests; our projects will be confounded; and we ourselves shall become a reproach and by-word down to future ages. And what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing governments by human wisdom, and leave 20 it to chance, war and conquest.

I therefore beg leave to move—that henceforth prayers imploring the assistance of Heaven, and its blessings on our deliberations, be held in this Assembly every morning before we proceed to business, and that 25 one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service.

## A MOTION ON SALARIES

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

From Madison's Journal of the Constitutional Convention.

Doctor Franklin moved, that what related to the compensation for the services of the Executive be postponed, in order to substitute, "whose necessary expenses shall be defrayed, but who shall receive no salary, stipend, fee or reward whatsoever for their services." He said, that, being very sensible of the effect of age on his memory, he had been unwilling to trust to that for the observations which seemed to support his motion, and had reduced them to writing, that he might, with the permission of the Committee, read, instead of speaking, them.

Sir, it is with reluctance that I rise to express a disapprobation of any one article of the plan for which we are so much obliged to the honorable gentleman who laid it before us. From its first reading I have borne  
5 a good will to it, and in general wished it success. In this particular of salaries to the Executive branch, I happen to differ: and as my opinion may appear new and chimerical, it is only from a persuasion that it is right, and from a sense of duty, that I hazard it. The  
10 Committee will judge of my reasons when they have heard them, and their judgment may possibly change mine. I think I see inconveniences in the appointment of salaries; I see none in refusing them, but, on the contrary, great advantages.

15 Sir, there are two passions which have a powerful influence on the affairs of men. These are ambition and avarice; the love of power, and the love of money. Separately, each of these has great force in prompting

men to action; but when united in view of the same object, they have in many minds the most violent effects. Place before the eyes of such men a post of *honor*, that shall be at the same time a place of *profit*, and they will move heaven and earth to obtain it. The 5 vast number of such places it is that renders the British government so tempestuous. The struggles for them are the true sources of all those factions, which are perpetually dividing the nation, distracting its councils, hurrying sometimes into fruitless and mischievous wars, 10 and often compelling a submission to dishonorable terms of peace.

And of what kind are the men that will strive for this profitable pre-eminence, through all the bustle of cabal, the heat of contention, the infinite mutual abuse 15 of parties, tearing to pieces the best of characters? It will not be the wise and moderate, the lovers of peace and good order, the men fittest for the trust. It will be the bold and the violent, the men of strong passions and indefatigable activity in their selfish pursuits. 20 These will thrust themselves into your government, and be your rulers. And these, too, will be mistaken in the expected happiness of their situation: for their vanquished competitors, of the same spirit, and from the same motives, will perpetually be endeavouring to dis- 25 tress their administration, thwart their measures, and render them odious to the people.

Besides these evils, Sir, though we may set out in the beginning with moderate salaries, we shall find that such will not be of long continuance. Reasons will 30 never be wanting for proposed augmentations. And there will always be a party for giving more to the rulers, that the rulers may be able in return to give more to them. Hence, as all history informs us, there



has been in every state and kingdom a constant kind of warfare between the governing and governed, the one striving to obtain more for its support, and the other to pay less. And this has alone occasioned great  
5 convulsions, actual civil wars, ending either in dethroning of the princes, or enslaving of the people. Generally, indeed, the ruling power carries its point, the revenues of princes constantly increasing; and we see that they are never satisfied, but always in want of  
10 more. The more the people are discontented with the oppression of taxes, the greater need the prince has of money to distribute among his partizans, and pay the troops that are to suppress all resistance, and enable him to plunder at pleasure. There is scarce a king  
15 in an hundred, who would not, if he could, follow the example of Pharaoh, get first all the people's money, then all their lands, and then make them and their children servants for ever. It will be said, that we don't propose to establish kings. I know it; but there  
20 is a natural inclination in mankind to kingly government. It sometimes relieves them from aristocratic domination. They had rather have one tyrant than five hundred. It gives more of the appearance of equality among citizens, and that they like. I am  
25 apprehensive, therefore, perhaps too apprehensive, that the government of these States may in future times end in a monarchy. But this catastrophe I think may be delayed, if in our proposed system we do not sow the seeds of contention, faction, and tumult, by making our  
30 posts of honor, places of profit. If we do, I fear that, though we do employ at first a number, and not a single person, the number will in time be set aside; it will only nourish the fœtus of a king, as the honor-

able gentleman from Virginia very aptly expressed it, and a king will the sooner be set over us.

It may be imagined by some that this is a Utopian idea, and that we can never find men to serve us in the Executive department without paying them well for 5 their services. I conceive this to be a mistake. Some existing facts present themselves to me, which incline me to a contrary opinion. The high-sheriff of a county in England is an honorable office, but it is not a profitable one. It is rather expensive and therefore not 10 sought for. But yet, it is executed and well executed, and usually by some of the principal gentlemen of the county. In France, the office of Counsellor, or member of their judiciary parliament, is more honorable. It is therefore purchased at a high price: there are indeed 15 fees on the law proceedings, which are divided among them, but these fees do not amount to more than three per cent on the sum paid for the place. Therefore, as legal interest is there at five per cent, they in fact pay two per cent for being allowed to do the judiciary busi- 20 ness of the nation, which is at the same time entirely exempt from the burden of paying them any salaries for their services. I do not, however, mean to recommend this as an eligible mode for our Judiciary department. I only bring the instance to show, that the 25 pleasure of doing good and serving their country, and the respect such conduct entitles them to, are sufficient motives with some minds to give up a great portion of their time to the public, without the mean inducement of pecuniary satisfaction. 30

Another instance is that of a respectable society who have made the experiment, and practised it with success more than one hundred years. I mean the Quakers. It is an established rule with them, that they are not to

go to law; but in their controversies they must apply to their monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings. Committees of these sit with patience to hear the parties, and spend much time in composing their differences.

5 In doing this, they are supported by a sense of duty, and the respect paid to usefulness. It is honorable to be so employed, but it is never made profitable by salaries, fees or perquisites. And, indeed, in all cases of public service, the less the profit the greater the honor.

10 To bring the matter nearer home, have we not seen the great and most important of our offices, that of General of our armies, executed for eight years together without the smallest salary, by a patriot whom I will not now offend by any other praise; and this, through

15 fatigues and distresses, in common with the other brave men, his military friends and companions, and the constant anxieties peculiar to his station? And shall we doubt finding three or four men in all the United States, with public spirit enough to bear sitting in

20 peaceful council for perhaps an equal term, merely to preside over our civil concerns, and see that our laws are duly executed? Sir, I have a better opinion of our country. I think we shall never be without a sufficient number of wise and good men to undertake and execute

25 well and faithfully the office in question.

Sir, the saving of the salaries that may at first be proposed is not an object with me. The subsequent mischiefs of proposing them are what I apprehend. And therefore it is, that I move the amendment. If it

30 is not seconded or accepted, I must be contented with the satisfaction of having delivered my opinion frankly and done my duty.

## COERCION OF DELINQUENT STATES

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

In the summer of 1788 the New York Convention assembled at Poughkeepsie to consider the question of the ratification of the Constitution of the United States. Forty-six of the sixty-five delegates at first stoutly opposed ratification. Hamilton in a series of speeches upheld the Constitution, and when the vote was taken a majority of three sustained his position. The following is an extract from one of those speeches:

The honorable member who spoke yesterday went into an explanation of a variety of circumstances, to prove the expediency of a change in our National Government, and the necessity of a firm Union. At the same time he described the great advantages which this state, in particular, receives from the Confederacy, and its peculiar weaknesses when abstracted from the Union. In doing this he advanced a variety of arguments which deserve serious consideration. 5

Sir, it appears to me extraordinary, that while the gentlemen in one breath acknowledge that the old Confederation requires many material amendments, they should in the next deny that its defects have been the cause of our political weakness and the consequent calamities of our country. We contend that the radical vice in the old Confederation is that the laws of the Union apply only to States in their corporate capacity. Has not every man who has been in our Legislature experienced the truth of this position? It is inseparable from the disposition of bodies who have a con- 10 20

stitutional power of resistance to examine the merits of a law. The States have almost uniformly weighed the requisitions by their own local interests, and have only executed them so far as answered their particular convenience or advantage. Hence there have ever been thirteen different bodies to judge of the measures of Congress, and the operations of Government have been distracted by their taking different courses. Those which were to be benefited have complied with the requisitions; others have totally disregarded them. Have not all of us been witnesses to the unhappy embarrassments which resulted from these proceedings? Even during the late war, while the pressure of common danger connected strongly the bond of our union, and incited to vigorous exertion, we have felt many distressing effects of the impotent system. How have we seen this State, though most exposed to the calamities of the war, complying in an unexampled manner with the federal requisitions, and compelled by the delinquency of others to bear most unusual burdens! Our misfortunes in a great degree proceeded from the want of vigor in the Continental Government.

From the delinquency of those States which have suffered little by the war, we naturally conclude that they have made no efforts; and a knowledge of human nature will teach us that their ease and security have been a principal cause of their want of exertion. While danger is distant its impression is weak, and while it affects only our neighbors we have few motives to provide against it. Sir, if we have national objects to pursue we must have national revenues. If you make requisitions and they are not complied with what is to be done? It has been observed to coerce the States is one of the maddest projects that was ever devised. A

failure of compliance will never be confined to a single State. This being the case can we suppose it wise to hazard a civil war? Suppose Massachusetts, or any large State, should refuse and Congress should attempt to compel them, would they not have influence to procure assistance, especially from those States which are in the same situation as themselves? What picture does this idea present to our view? A complying State at war with a non-complying State; Congress marching the troops of one State into the bosom of another; this State collecting auxiliaries and forming, perhaps, a majority against its federal head. Here is a nation at war with itself. Can any reasonable man be well disposed toward a government which makes war and carnage the only means of supporting itself—a government that can exist only by the sword? Every such war must involve the innocent with the guilty. This single consideration should be sufficient to dispose every peaceable citizen against such a government.

But can we believe that one State will ever suffer itself to be used as an instrument of coercion? The thing is a dream; it is impossible. Then we are brought to this dilemma—either a federal standing army is to enforce the requisitions, or the federal treasury is left without supplies, and the Government without support. What, sir, is the cure for this great evil? Nothing, but to enable the national laws to operate on individuals in the same manner as those of the States do. This is the true reasoning upon the subject, sir. The gentlemen appear to acknowledge its force; and yet, while they yield to the principle, they seem to fear its application to the government.

What, then, shall we do? Shall we take the old Confederation as a basis of a new system? Can this be the

object of the gentlemen? Certainly not. Will any man who entertains a wish for the safety of his country trust the sword and purse with a single assembly organized on principles so defective, so rotten? Though we might  
5 give to such a government certain powers with safety, yet to give them the full and unlimited powers of taxation and the national forces would be to establish a despotism, the definition of which is, a government in which all power is concentrated in a single body. To  
10 take the old Confederation and fashion it upon these principles would be establishing a power which would destroy the liberties of the people. These considerations show clearly that a government totally different must be instituted. They had weight in the convention  
15 who formed the new system. It was seen that the necessary powers were too great to be trusted to a single body; they therefore formed two branches and divided the powers that each might be a check upon the other. This was the result of their wisdom and I presume every  
20 reasonable man will agree to it. The more this subject is explained the more clear and convincing it will appear to every member of this body. The fundamental principle of the old Confederation is defective; we must totally eradicate and discard this principle before we  
25 can expect an efficient government.

## FAREWELL ADDRESS

GEORGE WASHINGTON

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS—The period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprize you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made. 5 10

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both. 15 20

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have 25



been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, 5 previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled 10 me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may 15 be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions, with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. 20 In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, 25 perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself, and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to 30 me as it will be welcome. Satisfied, that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude, which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; 5 still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our 10 country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes 15 of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly pene- 20 trated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual, that the free constitution, which is the 25 work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained, that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preserva- 30 tion and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation, which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to  
5 your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you  
10 with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not  
15 dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one  
20 people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so, for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty, which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to  
25 foresee, that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external  
30 enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial,

habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion, that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The

South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation  
5 invigorated; and, while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds,  
10 and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and  
15 comfort, and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other  
20 tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

25 While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a  
30 less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same

governments, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, 5 under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to 10 endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common gov- 15 ernment can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope, that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford 20 a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to dis- 25 trust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing 30 parties by geographical discriminations, Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expe-

dients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings, which spring  
5 from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those, who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and  
10 in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and  
15 in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations,  
20 towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren  
25 and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the  
30 infractions and interruptions, which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for

the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security 5 with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true 10 Liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The 15 very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish Government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible 20 character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordi- 25 nary force; to put, in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill- 30 concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.



However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations, which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that, for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine

each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding 5 of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our 10 nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but, in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy. 15

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal 20 and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his 25 competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the 30 spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the

community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which  
5 find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties in free countries  
10 are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party.  
15 But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And, there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought  
20 to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking  
25 in a free country should inspire caution, in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment  
30 tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the

truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for, though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit, which the use can at any time yield. 5 10 15

Of all the dispositions and habits, which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national 25 30

morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species  
5 of free government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In  
10 proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is,  
15 to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shun-  
20 ning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertion in time of peace to discharge the debts, which unavoidable wars may have occasioned not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your  
25 representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must  
30 be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid con-

struction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; 5 cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too 10 novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt, that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages, which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be 15 that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices? 20

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential, than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be culti- 25 vated. The nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation 30 against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent col-

lisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation), facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding, with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly

enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and 5 powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens), the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since his- 10 tory and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive par- 15 tiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become 20 suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to 25 have with them as little political connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must 30 be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her



politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are

recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances 10 and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay 15 with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no 20 greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will 25 make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course, which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of 30 some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriot-

ism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index of my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that con-

duct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes. 5

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable 10 that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope, that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after 15 forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and 20 actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment 25 of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers. 30

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

*United States, September 17th, 1796.*

## THE CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON

DANIEL WEBSTER

A speech delivered at a public dinner in the City of Washington, February 22, 1832, the centennial anniversary of Washington's birth.

We are met to testify our regard for him whose name is intimately blended with whatever belongs most essentially to the prosperity, the liberty, the free institutions, and the renown of our country. That name was of  
5 power to rally a nation, in the hour of thick-thronging public disasters and calamities; that name shone, amid the storm of war, a beacon light, to cheer and guide the country's friends; it flamed, too, like a meteor, to repel her foes. That name, in the days of peace, was a load-  
10 stone, attracting to itself a whole people's confidence, a whole people's love, and the whole world's respect. That name, descending with all time, spreading over the whole earth, and uttered in all the languages belonging to the tribes and races of men, will forever be pro-  
15 nounced with affectionate gratitude by every one in whose breast there shall arise an aspiration for human rights and human liberty.

We perform this grateful duty, Gentlemen, at the expiration of a hundred years from his birth, near the  
20 place, so cherished and beloved by him, where his dust now reposes, and in the capital which bears his own immortal name.

All experience evinces that human sentiments are strongly influenced by associations. The recurrence of

anniversaries, or of longer periods of time, naturally freshens the recollection, and deepens the impression, of events with which they are historically connected. Renowned places, also, have a power to awaken feeling, which all acknowledge. No American can pass by the 5 fields of Bunker Hill, Monmouth, and Camden, as if they were ordinary spots on the earth's surface. Whoever visits them feels the sentiment of love of country kindling anew, as if the spirit that belonged to the transactions which have rendered these places distinguished 10 still hovered round, with power to move and excite all who in future time may approach them.

But neither of these sources of emotion equals the power with which great moral examples affect the mind. When sublime virtues cease to be abstractions, when 15 they become embodied in human character, and exemplified in human conduct, we should be false to our own nature if we did not indulge in the spontaneous effusions of our gratitude and our admiration. A true lover of the virtue of patriotism delights to contemplate 20 its purest models; and that love of country may be well suspected which affects to soar so high into the regions of sentiment as to be lost and absorbed in the abstract feeling, and becomes too elevated or too refined to glow with fervor in the commendation or the love of individ- 25 ual benefactors. All this is unnatural. It is as if one should be so enthusiastic a lover of poetry as to care nothing for Homer or Milton; so passionately attached to eloquence as to be indifferent to Tully and Chat- ham; or such a devotee to the arts, in such an ecstasy 30 with the elements of beauty, proportion, and expression, as to regard the masterpieces of Raphael and Michael Angelo with coldness or contempt. We may be assured, Gentlemen, that he who really loves the thing itself,

loves its finest exhibitions. A true friend of his country loves her friends and benefactors, and thinks it no degradation to commend and commemorate them. The voluntary outpouring of the public feeling, made to-day, 5 from the north to the south, and from the east to the west, proves this sentiment to be both just and natural. In the cities and in the villages, in the public temples and in the family circles, among all ages and sexes, gladdened voices to-day bespeak grateful hearts and a 10 freshened recollection of the virtues of the Father of his Country. And it will be so, in all time to come, so long as public virtue is itself an object of regard. The ingenuous youth of America will hold up to themselves the bright model of Washington's example, and study 15 to be what they behold; they will contemplate his character till all its virtues spread out and display themselves to their delighted vision; as the earliest astronomers, the shepherds on the plains of Babylon, gazed at the stars till they saw them form into clusters and constellations, overpowering at length the eyes of the 20 beholders with the united blaze of a thousand lights.

Gentlemen, we are at a point of a century from the birth of Washington; and what a century it has been! During its course, the human mind has seemed to proceed 25 with a sort of geometric velocity, accomplishing for human intelligence and human freedom more than had been done in fives or tens of centuries preceding. Washington stands at the commencement of a new era, as well as at the head of the New World. A century from 30 the birth of Washington has changed the world. The country of Washington has been the theatre on which a great part of that change has been wrought, and Washington himself a principal agent by which it has been

accomplished. His age and his country are equally full of wonders; and of both he is the chief.

If the poetical prediction, uttered a few years before his birth, be true; if indeed it be designed by Providence that the grandest exhibition of human character and human affairs shall be made on this theatre of the Western world; if it be true that,

“The four first acts already past;  
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;  
Time’s noblest offspring is the last”;

10

how could this imposing, swelling, final scene be appropriately opened, how could its intense interest be adequately sustained, but by the introduction of just such a character as our Washington?

Washington had attained his manhood when that spark of liberty was struck out in his own country which has since kindled into a flame and shot its beams over the earth. In the flow of a century from his birth, the world has changed in science, in arts, in the extent of commerce, in the improvement of navigation, and in all that relates to the civilization of man. But it is the spirit of human freedom, the new elevation of individual man, in his moral, social, and political character, leading the whole long train of other improvements, which has most remarkably distinguished the era. Society, in this century, has not made its progress, like Chinese skill, by a greater acuteness of ingenuity in trifles; it has not merely lashed itself to an increased speed round the old circles of thought and action; but it has assumed a new character; it has raised itself from *beneath* governments to a participation *in* governments; it has mixed moral and political objects with the daily pursuits of individual men; and, with a freedom and



strength before altogether unknown, it has applied to these objects the whole power of the human understanding. It has been the era, in short, when the social principle has triumphed over the feudal principle; when  
5 society has maintained its rights against military power, and established, on foundations never hereafter to be shaken, its competency to govern itself.

It was the extraordinary fortune of Washington, that, having been intrusted, in revolutionary times, with the  
10 supreme military command, and having fulfilled that trust with equal renown for wisdom and for valor, he should be placed at the head of the first government in which an attempt was to be made on a large scale to rear the fabric of social order on the basis of a written  
15 constitution and of a pure representative principle. A government was to be established, without a throne, without an aristocracy, without castes, orders, or privileges; and this government, instead of being a democracy existing and acting within the walls of a single  
20 city, was to be extended over a vast country of different climates, interests, and habits, and of various communions of our common Christian faith. The experiment certainly was entirely new. A popular government of this extent, it was evident, could be framed only by  
25 carrying into full effect the principle of representation or of delegated power; and the world was to see whether society could, by the strength of this principle, maintain its own peace and good government, carry forward its own great interests, and conduct itself to political re-  
30 nown and glory. By the benignity of Providence, this experiment, so full of interest to us and to our posterity forever, so full of interest, indeed, to the world in its present generation and in all its generations to come, was suffered to commence under the guidance of Wash-

ington. Destined for this high career, he was fitted for it by wisdom, by virtue, by patriotism, by discretion, by whatever can inspire confidence in man toward man. In entering on the untried scenes, early disappointment and the premature extinction of all hope of success 5 would have been certain, had it not been that there did exist throughout the country, in a most extraordinary degree, an unwavering trust in him who stood at the helm.

I remarked, Gentlemen, that the whole world was and 10 is interested in the result of this experiment. And is it not so? Do we deceive ourselves, or is it true that at this moment the career which this government is running is among the most attractive objects to the civilized world? Do we deceive ourselves, or is it true that at 15 this moment that love of liberty and that understanding of its true principles which are flying over the whole earth, as on the wings of all the winds, are really and truly of American origin?

At the period of the birth of Washington there existed 20 in Europe no political liberty in large communities, except in the provinces of Holland, and except that England herself had set a great example, so far as it went, by her glorious Revolution of 1688. Everywhere else, despotic power was predominant, and the feudal or mili- 25 tary principle held the mass of mankind in hopeless bondage. One-half of Europe was crushed beneath the Bourbon sceptre, and no conception of political liberty, no hope even of religious toleration, existed among that nation which was America's first ally. The king was 30 the state, the king was the country, the king was all. There was one king, with power not derived from his people, and too high to be questioned; and the rest were all subjects, with no political right but obedience. All

above was intangible power, all below quiet subjection. A recent occurrence in the French chamber shows us how public opinion on these subjects is changed. A minister had spoken of the "king's subjects." "There  
5 are no subjects," exclaimed hundreds of voices at once, "in a country where the people make the king!"

Gentlemen, the spirit of human liberty and of free government, nurtured and grown into strength and beauty in America, has stretched its course into the  
10 midst of the nations. Like an emanation from Heaven, it has gone forth, and it will not return void. It must change, it is fast changing, the face of the earth. Our great, our high duty is to show, in our own example, that this spirit is a spirit of health as well as a spirit of  
15 power; that its benignity is as great as its strength; that its efficiency to secure individual rights, social relations, and moral order, is equal to the irresistible force with which it prostrates principalities and powers. The world, at this moment, is regarding us with a willing,  
20 but something of a fearful admiration. Its deep and awful anxiety is to learn whether free States may be stable, as well as free; whether popular power may be trusted, as well as feared; in short, whether wise, regular, and virtuous self-government is a vision for the  
25 contemplation of theorists, or a truth established, illustrated, and brought into practice in the country of Washington.

Gentlemen, for the earth which we inhabit, and the whole circle of the sun, for all the unborn races of man-  
30 kind, we seem to hold in our hands, for their weal or woe, the fate of this experiment. If we fail, who shall venture the repetition? If our example shall prove to be one not of encouragement, but of terror, not fit to be imitated, but fit only to be shunned, where else shall

the world look for free models? If this great *Western Sun* be struck out of the firmament, at what other fountain shall the lamp of liberty hereafter be lighted? What other orb shall emit a ray to glimmer, even, on the darkness of the world? 5

There is no danger of our overrating or overstating the important part which we are now acting in human affairs. It should not flatter our personal self-respect, but it should reanimate our patriotic virtues, and inspire us with a deeper and more solemn sense both of our 10 privileges and of our duties. We cannot wish better for our country, nor for the world, than that the same spirit which influenced Washington may influence all who succeed him; and that the same blessing from above, which attended his efforts, may also attend theirs. 15

The principles of Washington's administration are not left doubtful. They are to be found in the Constitution itself, in the great measures recommended and approved by him, in his speeches to Congress, and in that most interesting paper, his Farewell Address to the 20 people of the United States. The success of the government under his administration is the highest proof of the soundness of these principles. And, after an experience of thirty-five years, what is there which an enemy 25 could condemn? What is there which either his friends, or the friends of the country, could wish to have been otherwise? I speak, of course, of great measures and leading principles.

In the first place, all his measures were right in their intent. He stated the whole basis of his own great 30 character, when he told the country, in the homely phrase of the proverb, that honesty is the best policy. One of the most striking things ever said of him is, that "*he changed mankind's ideas of political greatness.*"

To commanding talents, and to success, the common elements of such greatness, he added a disregard of self, a spotlessness of motive, a steady submission to every public and private duty, which threw far into the shade  
5 the whole crowd of vulgar great. The object of his regard was the whole country. No part of it was enough to fill his enlarged patriotism. His love of glory, so far as that may be supposed to have influenced him at all, spurned everything short of general appro-  
10 bation. It would have been nothing to him that his partisans or his favorites outnumbered, or outvoted, or outmanaged, or outclamored, those of other leaders. He had no favorites; he rejected all partisanship; and, acting honestly for the universal good, he deserved, what  
15 he has so richly enjoyed, the universal love.

His principle it was to act right, and to trust the people for support; his principle it was not to follow the lead of sinister and selfish ends, nor to rely on the little arts of party delusion to obtain public sanction for  
20 such a course. Born for his country and for the world, he did not give up to party what was meant for mankind. The consequence is, that his fame is as durable as his principles, as lasting as truth and virtue themselves. While the hundreds whom party excitement,  
25 and temporary circumstances, and casual combinations, have raised into transient notoriety, sink again, like thin bubbles, bursting and dissolving into the great ocean, Washington's fame is like the rock which bounds that ocean, and at whose feet its billows are destined to  
30 break harmlessly forever.

The maxims upon which Washington conducted our foreign relations were few and simple. The first was an entire and indisputable impartiality towards foreign States. He adhered to this rule of public conduct,

against very strong inducements to depart from it, and when the popularity of the moment seemed to favor such a departure. In the next place, he maintained true dignity and unsullied honor in all communications with foreign States. It was among the high duties devolved 5 upon him to introduce our new government into the circle of civilized States and powerful nations. Not arrogant or assuming, with no unbecoming or supercilious bearing, he yet exacted for it from all others entire and punctilious respect. He demanded, and he 10 obtained at once, a standing of perfect equality for his country in the society of nations; nor was there a prince or potentate of his day, whose personal character carried with it, into the intercourse of other States, a greater degree of respect and veneration. 15

He regarded other nations only as they stood in political relations to us. With their internal affairs, their political parties and dissensions, he scrupulously abstained from all interference; and, on the other hand, he repelled with spirit all such interference by others 20 with us or our concerns. His sternest rebuke, the most indignant measure of his whole administration, was aimed against such an attempted interference. He felt it as an attempt to wound the national honor, and resented it accordingly. 25

The reiterated admonitions in his Farewell Address show his deep fears that foreign influence would insinuate itself into our counsels through the channels of domestic dissension, and obtain a sympathy with our own temporary parties. Against all such dangers he 30 most earnestly entreats the country to guard itself. He appeals to its patriotism, to its self-respect, to its own honor, to every consideration connected with its welfare and happiness, to resist, at the very beginning, all ten-

dencies towards such connection of foreign interests with our own affairs. With a tone of earnestness nowhere else found, even in his last affectionate farewell advice to his countrymen, he says, "Against the insidious  
5 wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government."

10 Lastly, on the subject of foreign relations; Washington never forgot that we had interests peculiar to ourselves. The primary political concerns of Europe, he saw, did not affect us. We had nothing to do with her balance of power, her family compacts, or her suc-  
15 sions to thrones. We were placed in a condition favorable to neutrality during European wars, and to the enjoyment of all the great advantages of that relation. "Why, then," he asks us, "why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand  
20 upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?"

Indeed, Gentlemen, Washington's Farewell Address is  
25 full of truths important at all times, and particularly deserving consideration at the present. With a sagacity which brought the future before him, and made it like the present, he saw and pointed out the dangers that even at this moment most imminently threaten us. I  
30 hardly know how a greater service of that kind could now be done to the community, than by a renewed and wide diffusion of that admirable paper, and an earnest invitation to every man in the country to re-peruse and consider it. Its political maxims are invaluable; its

exhortations to love of country and to brotherly affection among citizens, touching; and the solemnity with which it urges the observance of moral duties, and impresses the power of religious obligation, gives to it the highest character of truly disinterested, sincere, parental 5 advice.

The domestic policy of Washington found its polestar in the avowed objects of the Constitution itself. He sought so to administer that Constitution as to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic 10 tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty. These were objects interesting, in the highest degree, to the whole country, and his policy embraced the whole country. 15

Among his earliest and most important duties was the organization of the government itself, the choice of his confidential advisers, and the various appointments to office. This duty, so important and delicate, when a whole government was to be organized, and all its offices 20 for the first time filled, was yet not difficult to him, for he had no sinister ends to accomplish, no clamorous partisans to gratify, no pledges to redeem, no object to be regarded but simply the public good. It was a plain, straightforward matter, a mere honest choice of good 25 men for the public service.

His own singleness of purpose, his disinterested patriotism, were evinced by the selection of his first cabinet, and by the manner in which he filled the seats of justice, and other places of high trust. He sought for men fit 30 for offices; not for offices which might suit men. Above personal considerations, above local considerations, above party considerations, he felt that he could only discharge the sacred trust which the country had placed in



his hands, by a diligent inquiry after real merit, and a conscientious preference of virtue and talent. The whole country was the field of his selection. He explored that whole field, looking only for whatever it contained most worthy and distinguished. He was, indeed, most successful, and he deserved success for the purity of his motives, the liberality of his sentiments, and his enlarged and manly policy.

Washington's administration established the national credit, made provision for the public debt, and for that patriotic army whose interests and welfare were always so dear to him; and, by laws wisely framed, and of admirable effect, raised the commerce and navigation of the country, almost at once, from depression and ruin to a state of prosperity. Nor were his eyes open to these interests alone. He viewed with equal concern its agriculture and manufactures, and, so far as they came within the regular exercise of the powers of this government, they experienced regard and favor.

It should not be omitted, even in this slight reference to the general measures and general principles of the first President, that he saw and felt the full value and importance of the judicial department of the government. An upright and able administration of the laws he held to be alike indispensable to private happiness and public liberty. The temple of justice, in his opinion, was a sacred place, and he would profane and pollute it who should call any to minister in it, not spotless in character, not incorruptible in integrity, not competent by talent and learning, not a fit object of unhesitating trust.

Among other admonitions, Washington has left us, in his last communication to his country, an exhortation against the excesses of party spirit. A fire not to be

quenched, he yet conjures us not to fan and feed the flame. Undoubtedly, Gentlemen, it is the greatest danger of our system and of our time. Undoubtedly, if that system should be overthrown, it will be the work of excessive party spirit, acting on the government, which is dangerous enough, or acting *in* the government, which is a thousand times more dangerous; for government then becomes nothing but organized party, and, in the strange vicissitudes of human affairs, it may come at last, perhaps, to exhibit the singular paradox of government itself being in opposition to its own powers, at war with the very elements of its own existence. Such cases are hopeless. As men may be protected against murder, but cannot be guarded against suicide, so government may be shielded from the assaults of external foes, but nothing can save it when it chooses to lay violent hands on itself.

Finally, Gentlemen, there was in the breast of Washington one sentiment so deeply felt, so constantly uppermost, that no proper occasion escaped without its utterance. From the letter which he signed in behalf of the Convention when the Constitution was sent out to the people, to the moment when he put his hand to that last paper in which he addressed his countrymen, the Union, —the Union was the great object of his thoughts. In that first letter he tells them that to him and his brethren of the Convention, union appears to be the greatest interest of every true American; and in that last paper he conjures them to regard that unity of government which constitutes them one people as the very palladium of their prosperity and safety, and the security of liberty itself. He regarded the union of these States less as one of our blessings, than as the great treasure-house which contained them all. Here, in his

judgment, was the great magazine of all our means of prosperity; here, as he thought, and as every true American still thinks, are deposited all our animating prospects, all our solid hopes for future greatness. He has  
5 taught us to maintain this union, not by seeking to enlarge the powers of the government, on the one hand, nor by surrendering them, on the other; but by an administration of them at once firm and moderate, pursuing objects truly national, and carried on in a spirit  
10 of justice and equity.

The extreme solicitude for the preservation of the Union, at all times manifested by him, shows not only the opinion he entertained of its importance, but his clear perception of those causes which were likely to  
15 spring up to endanger it, and which, if once they should overthrow the present system, would leave little hope of any future beneficial reunion. Of all the presumptions indulged by presumptuous man, that is one of the rashest which looks for repeated and favorable opportunities for the deliberate establishment of a united government over distinct and widely extended communities.  
20 Such a thing has happened once in human affairs, and but once; the event stands out as a prominent exception to all ordinary history; and unless we suppose ourselves  
25 running into an age of miracles, we may not expect its repetition.

Washington, therefore, could regard, and did regard, nothing as of paramount political interest but the integrity of the Union itself. With a united government,  
30 well administered, he saw that we had nothing to fear; and without it, nothing to hope. The sentiment is just, and its momentous truth should solemnly impress the whole country. If we might regard our country as personated in the spirit of Washington, if we might con-

sider him as representing her, in her past renown, her present prosperity, and her future career, and as in that character demanding of us all to account for our conduct, as political men or as private citizens, how should he answer him who has ventured to talk of disunion and 5 dismemberment? Or how should he answer him who dwells perpetually on local interests, and fans every kindling flame of local prejudice? How should he answer him who would array State against State, interest against interest, and party against party, careless of 10 the continuance of that unity of government which constitutes us one people?

The political prosperity which this country has attained, and which it now enjoys, has been acquired mainly through the instrumentality of the present gov- 15 ernment. While this agent continues, the capacity of attaining to still higher degrees of prosperity exists also. We have, while this lasts, a political life capable of beneficial exertion, with power to resist or overcome misfortunes, to sustain us against the ordinary accidents 20 of human affairs, and to promote, by active efforts, every public interest. But dismemberment strikes at the very being which preserves these faculties. It would lay its rude and ruthless hand on this great agent itself. It would sweep away, not only what we possess, but all 25 power of regaining lost, or acquiring new possessions. It would leave the country not only bereft of its prosperity and happiness, but without limbs, or organs, or faculties, by which to exert itself hereafter in the pursuit of that prosperity and happiness. 30

Other misfortunes may be borne, or their effects overcome. If disastrous war should sweep our commerce from the ocean, another generation may renew it; if it exhaust our treasury, future industry may replenish it;

if it desolate and lay waste our fields, still, under a new cultivation, they will grow green again, and ripen to future harvests. It were but a trifle even if the walls of yonder Capitol were to crumble, if its lofty pillars  
5 should fall, and its gorgeous decorations be all covered by the dust of the valley. All these might be rebuilt. But who shall reconstruct the fabric of demolished government? Who shall rear again the well-proportioned columns of constitutional liberty? Who shall frame  
10 together the skilful architecture which unites national sovereignty with State rights, individual security, and public prosperity? No, if these columns fall, they will be raised not again. Like the Coliseum and the Parthenon, they will be destined to a mournful, a melan-  
15 choly immortality. Bitterer tears, however, will flow over them than were ever shed over the monuments of Roman or Grecian art; for they will be the remnants of a more glorious edifice than Greece or Rome ever saw, the edifice of constitutional American liberty.

20 But let us hope for better things. Let us trust in that gracious Being who had hitherto held our country as in the hollow of his hand. Let us trust to the virtue and the intelligence of the people, and to the efficacy of religious obligation. Let us trust to the influence of  
25 Washington's example. Let us hope that that fear of Heaven which expels all other fear, and that regard to duty which transcends all other regard, may influence public men and private citizens, and lead our country still onward in her happy career. Full of these gratify-  
30 ing anticipations and hopes, let us look forward to the end of that century which is now commenced. A hundred years hence, other disciples of Washington will celebrate his birth, with no less of sincere admiration than we now commemorate it. When they shall meet,

as we now meet, to do themselves and him that honor, so surely as they shall see the blue summits of his native mountains rise in the horizon, so surely as they shall behold the river on whose banks he lived, and on whose banks he rests, still flowing on toward the sea, so surely 5 may they see, as we now see, the flag of the Union floating on the top of the Capitol; and then, as now, may the sun in his course visit no land more free, more happy, more lovely, than this our own country!

## THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

DANIEL WEBSTER

An address delivered at the laying of the corner-stone at Charlestown, Massachusetts, June 17, 1825.

This uncounted multitude before me and around me proves the feeling which the occasion has excited. These thousands of human faces, glowing with sympathy and joy, and from the impulses of a common gratitude  
5 turned reverently to heaven in this spacious temple of the firmament, proclaim that the day, the place, and the purpose of our assembling have made a deep impression on our hearts.

If, indeed, there be anything in local association fit  
10 to affect the mind of man, we need not strive to repress the emotions which agitate us here. We are among the sepulchres of our fathers. We are on ground distinguished by their valor, their constancy, and the shedding of their blood. We are here, not to fix an uncertain  
15 date in our annals, nor to draw into notice an obscure and unknown spot. If our humble purpose had never been conceived, if we ourselves had never been born, the 17th of June, 1775, would have been a day on which all subsequent history would have poured its light,  
20 and the eminence where we stand a point of attraction to the eyes of successive generations. But we are Americans. We live in what may be called the early age of this great continent; and we know that our posterity, through all time, are here to enjoy and suffer the allot-  
25 ments of humanity. We see before us a probable train

of great events; we know that our own fortunes have been happily cast; and it is natural, therefore, that we should be moved by the contemplation of occurrences which have guided our destiny before many of us were born, and settled the condition in which we should pass 5 that portion of our existence which God allows to men on earth.

We do not read even of the discovery of this continent, without feeling something of a personal interest in the event; without being reminded how much it has affected 10 our own fortunes and our own existence. It would be still more unnatural for us, therefore, than for others, to contemplate with unaffected minds that interesting, I may say that most touching and pathetic scene, when the great discoverer of America stood on the deck of 15 his shattered bark, the shades of night falling on the sea, yet no man sleeping; tossed on the billows of an unknown ocean, yet the stronger billows of alternate hope and despair tossing his own troubled thoughts; extending forward his harassed frame, straining westward 20 his anxious and eager eyes, till Heaven at last granted him a moment of rapture and ecstasy, in blessing his vision with the sight of the unknown world.

Nearer to our times, more closely connected with our fates, and therefore still more interesting to our feelings 25 and affections, is the settlement of our own country by colonists from England. We cherish every memorial of these worthy ancestors; we celebrate their patience and fortitude; we admire their daring enterprise; we teach our children to venerate their piety; and we are justly 30 proud of being descended from men who have set the world an example of founding civil institutions on the great and united principles of human freedom and human knowledge. To us, their children, the story of



their labors and sufferings can never be without its interest. We shall not stand unmoved on the shore of Plymouth, while the sea continues to wash it; nor will our brethren in another early and ancient colony forget the place of its first establishment, till their river shall cease to flow by it. No vigor of youth, no maturity of manhood, will lead the nation to forget the spots where its infancy was cradled and defended.

But the great event in the history of the continent, which we are now met here to commemorate, that prodigy of modern times, at once the wonder and the blessing of the world, is the American Revolution. In a day of extraordinary prosperity and happiness, of high national honor, distinction, and power, we are brought together, in this place, by our love of country, by our admiration of exalted character, by our gratitude for signal services and patriotic devotion.

The Society whose organ I am was formed for the purpose of rearing some honorable and durable monument to the memory of the early friends of American Independence. They have thought that for this object no time could be more propitious than the present prosperous and peaceful period, that no place could claim preference over this memorable spot, and that no day could be more auspicious to the undertaking than the anniversary of the battle which was here fought. The foundation of that monument we have now laid. With solemnities suited to the occasion, with prayers to Almighty God for his blessing, and in the midst of this cloud of witnesses, we have begun the work. We trust it will be prosecuted, and that, springing from a broad foundation, rising high in massive solidity and unadorned grandeur, it may remain as long as Heaven permits the works of man to last, a fit emblem, both of the

events in memory of which it is raised, and of the gratitude of those who have reared it,

We know, indeed, that the record of illustrious actions is most safely deposited in the universal remembrance of mankind. We know that if we could cause 5 this structure to ascend, not only till it reached the skies, but till it pierced them, its broad surfaces could still contain but part of that which, in an age of knowledge, hath already been spread over the earth, and which history charges itself with making known to all 10 future times. We know that no inscription on entablatures less broad than the earth itself can carry information of the events we commemorate where it has not already gone; and that no structure which shall not 15 outlive the duration of letters and knowledge among men can prolong the memorial. But our object is, by this edifice, to show our own deep sense of the value and importance of the achievements of our ancestors; and, by presenting this work of gratitude to the eye, to keep alive similar sentiments, and to foster a con- 20 stant regard for the principles of the Revolution. Human beings are composed, not of reason only, but of imagination also, and sentiment; and that is neither wasted nor misapplied which is appropriated to the purpose of giving right direction to sentiments, and 25 opening proper springs of feeling in the heart.

Let it not be supposed that our object is to perpetuate national hostility, or even to cherish a mere military spirit. It is higher, purer, nobler. We consecrate our work to the spirit of national independence, 30 and we wish that the light of peace may rest upon it forever. We rear a memorial of our conviction of that unmeasured benefit which has been conferred on our own land, and of the happy influences which have been

produced, by the same events, on the general interests of mankind. We come, as Americans, to mark a spot which must forever be dear to us and our posterity. We wish that whosoever, in all coming time, shall turn  
5 his eye hither, may behold that the place is not undistinguished where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish that this structure may proclaim the magnitude and importance of that event to every class and every age. We wish that infancy  
10 may learn the purpose of its erection from maternal lips, and that weary and withered age may behold it, and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish that labor may look up here, and be proud in the midst of its toil. We wish that, in those days  
15 of disaster which, as they come upon all nations, must be expected to come upon us also, desponding patriotism may turn its eyes hitherward, and be assured that the foundations of our national power are still strong. We wish that this column, rising towards  
20 heaven among the pointed spires of so many temples dedicated to God, may contribute also to produce, in all minds, a pious feeling of dependence and gratitude. We wish, finally, that the last object to the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to gladden  
25 his who revisits it, may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise! let it rise, till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit.  
30 We live in a most extraordinary age. Events so various and so important that they might crowd and distinguish centuries are, in our times, compressed within the compass of a single life. When has it happened that history has had so much to record, in

the same term of years, as since the 17th of June, 1775? Our own revolution, which, under other circumstances, might itself have been expected to occasion a war of half a century, has been achieved; twenty-four sovereign and independent States erected; 5 and a general government established over them, so safe, so wise, so free, so practical, that we might well wonder its establishment should have been accomplished so soon, were it not far the greater wonder that it should have been established at all. Two or 10 three millions of people have been augmented to twelve, the great forests of the West prostrated beneath the arm of successful industry, and the dwellers on the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi become the fellow-citizens and neighbors of those who culti- 15 vate the hills of New England. We have a commerce that leaves no sea unexplored; navies which take no law from superior force; revenues adequate to all the exigencies of government, almost without taxation; and peace with all nations, founded on equal rights 20 and mutual respect.

Europe, within the same period, has been agitated by a mighty revolution, which, while it has been felt in the individual condition and happiness of almost every man, has shaken to the centre her political fab- 25 ric, and dashed against one another thrones which had stood tranquil for ages. On this, our continent, our own example has been followed, and colonies have sprung up to be nations. Unaccustomed sounds of liberty and free government have reached us from be- 30 yond the track of the sun; and at this moment the dominion of European power in this continent, from the place where we stand to the south pole, is annihilated for ever.

In the mean time, both in Europe and America, such has been the general progress of knowledge, such the improvement in legislation, in commerce, in the arts, in letters, and, above all, in liberal ideas and the  
5 general spirit of the age, that the whole world seems changed.

Yet, notwithstanding that this is but a faint abstract of the things which have happened since the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, we are but fifty years  
10 removed from it; and we now stand here to enjoy all the blessings of our own condition, and to look abroad on the brightened prospects of the world, while we still have among us some of those who were active agents in the scenes of 1775, and who are now  
15 here, from every quarter of New England, to visit once more, and under circumstances so affecting, I had almost said so overwhelming, this renowned theatre of their courage and patriotism.

Venerable men! you have come down to us from a  
20 former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives, that you might behold this joyous day. You are now where you stood fifty years ago, this very hour, with your brothers, and your neighbors, shoulder to shoulder, in the strife for your country. Behold,  
25 how altered! The same heavens are indeed over your heads; the same ocean rolls at your feet; but all else how changed! You hear now no roar of hostile cannon, you see no mixed volumes of smoke and flame rising from burning Charlestown. The ground strewn  
30 with the dead and dying; the impetuous charge; the steady and successful repulse; the loud call to repeated assault; the summoning of all that is manly to repeated resistance; a thousand bosoms freely and fearlessly bared in an instant to whatever of terror there may be

in war and death,—all these you have witnessed, but you witness them no more. All is peace. The heights of yonder metropolis, its towers and roofs, which you then saw filled with wives and children and countrymen in distress and terror, and looking with unutterable 5 emotions for the issue of the combat, have presented you to-day with the sight of its whole happy population come out to welcome and greet you with a universal jubilee. Yonder proud ships, by a felicity of position appropriately lying at the foot of this mount, and 10 seeming fondly to cling around it, are not means of annoyance to you, but your country's own means of distinction and defence. All is peace; and God has granted you this sight of your country's happiness, ere you slumber in the grave. He has allowed you to behold 15 and to partake the reward of your patriotic toils; and he has allowed us, your sons and countrymen, to meet you here, and in the name of the present generation, in the name of your country, in the name of liberty, to thank you!

20

But, alas! you are not all here! Time and the sword have thinned your ranks. Prescott, Putnam, Stark, Brooks, Read, Pomeroy, Bridge! our eyes seek for you in vain amid this broken band. You are gathered to your fathers, and live only to your country in her 25 grateful remembrance and your own bright example. But let us not too much grieve that you have met the common fate of men. You lived at least long enough to know that your work had been nobly and successfully accomplished. You lived to see your country's inde- 30 pendence established, and to sheathe your swords from war. On the light of Liberty you saw arise the light of Peace, like

“another morn,  
Risen on mid-noon;”

35

and the sky on which you closed your eyes was cloudless.

- But ah! Him! the first great martyr in this great cause! Him! the premature victim of his own self-devoting heart! Him! the head of our civil councils,  
5 and the destined leader of our military bands, whom nothing brought hither but the unquenchable fire of his own spirit! Him! cut off by Providence in the hour of overwhelming anxiety and thick gloom; falling ere he saw the star of his country rise; pouring out  
10 his generous blood like water, before he knew whether it would fertilize a land of freedom or of bondage!—how shall I struggle with the emotions that stifle the utterance of thy name! Our poor work may perish; but thine shall endure! This monument may moulder  
15 away; the solid ground it rests upon may sink down to a level with the sea; but thy memory shall not fail! Wheresoever among men a heart shall be found that beats to the transports of patriotism and liberty, its aspirations shall be claimed kindred with thy spirit!
- 20 But the scene amidst which we stand does not permit us to confine our thoughts or our sympathies to those fearless spirits who hazarded or lost their lives on this consecrated spot. We have the happiness to rejoice here in the presence of a most worthy representation of the survivors of the whole Revolutionary army.
- 25 Veterans! you are the remnant of many a well-fought field. You bring with you marks of honor from Trenton and Monmouth, from Yorktown, Camden, Bennington, and Saratoga. Veterans of half a century! when in your youthful days you put everything at hazard in  
30 your country's cause, good as that cause was, and sanguine as youth is, still your fondest hopes did not stretch onward to an hour like this! At a period to which you could not reasonably have expected to arrive,

at a moment of national prosperity such as you could never have foreseen, you are now met here to enjoy the fellowship of old soldiers, and to receive the overflowings of a universal gratitude.

But your agitated countenances and your heaving 5 breasts inform me that even this is not an unmixed joy. I perceive that a tumult of contending feelings rushes upon you. The images of the dead, as well as the persons of the living, present themselves before you. The scene overwhelms you, and I turn from it. May the 10 Father of all mercies smile upon your declining years, and bless them! And when you shall here have exchanged your embraces, when you shall once more have pressed the hands which have been so often extended to give succor in adversity, or grasped in the exultation of 15 victory, then look abroad upon this lovely land which your young valor defended, and mark the happiness with which it is filled; yea, look abroad upon the whole earth, and see what a name you have contributed to give to your country, and what praise you have added 20 to freedom, and then rejoice in the sympathy and gratitude which beam upon your last days from the improved condition of mankind!

The occasion does not require of me any particular account of the battle of the 17th of June, 1775, nor 25 any detailed narrative of the events which immediately preceded it. These are familiarly known to all. In the progress of the great and interesting controversy, Massachusetts and the town of Boston had become early and marked objects of the displeasure of 30 the British Parliament. This had been manifested in the act for altering the government of the Province, and in that for shutting up the port of Boston. Nothing sheds more honor on our early history, and



nothing better shows how little the feelings and sentiments of the Colonies were known or regarded in England, than the impression which these measures everywhere produced in America. It had been anticipated, that while the Colonies in general would be terrified by the severity of the punishment inflicted on Massachusetts, the other seaports would be governed by a mere spirit of gain; and that, as Boston was now cut off from all commerce, the unexpected advantage which this blow on her was calculated to confer on other towns would be greedily enjoyed. How miserably such reasoners deceived themselves! How little they knew of the depth, and the strength, and the intenseness of that feeling of resistance to illegal acts of power, which possessed the whole American people. Everywhere the unworthy boon was rejected with scorn. The fortunate occasion was seized, everywhere, to show to the whole world that the Colonies were swayed by no local interest, no partial interest, no selfish interest. The temptation to profit by the punishment of Boston was strongest to our neighbors of Salem. Yet Salem was precisely the place where this miserable proffer was spurned, in a tone of the most lofty self-respect and the most indignant patriotism. "We are deeply affected," said its inhabitants, "with the sense of our public calamities; but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the Province greatly excite our commiseration. By shutting up the port of Boston some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither and to our benefit; but we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge a thought to seize on wealth and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our

suffering neighbors." These noble sentiments were not confined to our immediate vicinity. In that day of general affection and brotherhood, the blow given to Boston smote on every patriotic heart from one end of the country to the other. Virginia and the Carolinas, as well as Connecticut and New Hampshire, felt and proclaimed the cause to be their own. The Continental Congress, then holding its first session in Philadelphia, expressed its sympathy for the suffering inhabitants of Boston, and addresses were received from all quarters, assuring them that the cause was a common one, and should be met by common efforts and common sacrifices. The Congress of Massachusetts responded to these assurances; and in an address to the Congress at Philadelphia, bearing the official signature, perhaps among the last, of the immortal Warren, notwithstanding the severity of its suffering and the magnitude of the dangers which threatened it, it was declared that this Colony "is ready, at all times, to spend and to be spent in the cause of America."

But the hour drew nigh which was to put professions to the proof, and to determine whether the authors of these mutual pledges were ready to seal them in blood. The tidings of Lexington and Concord had no sooner spread, than it was universally felt that the time was at last come for action. A spirit pervaded all ranks, not transient, not boisterous, but deep, solemn, determined,—

"Totamque infusa per artus  
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet."

30

War on their own soil and at their own doors, was, indeed, a strange work to the yeomanry of New Eng-

land; but their consciences were convinced of its necessity, their country called them to it, and they did not withhold themselves from the perilous trial. The ordinary occupations of life were abandoned; the  
5 plough was stayed in the unfinished furrow; wives gave up their husbands, and mothers gave up their sons, to the battles of a civil war. Death might come in honor, on the field; it might come, in disgrace, on the scaffold. For either or for both they were pre-  
10 pared. The sentiment of Quincy was full in their hearts. "Blandishments," said that distinguished son of genius and patriotism, "will not fascinate us, nor will threats of a halter intimidate; for, under God, we are determined, that, whatsoever, whensoever, or  
15 howsoever, we shall be called to make our exit, we will die free men."

The 17th of June saw the four New England Colonies standing here side by side, to triumph or to fall together; and there was with them from that moment  
20 to the end of the war, what I hope will remain with them for ever,—one cause, one country, one heart.

The battle of Bunker Hill was attended with the most important effects beyond its immediate results as a military engagement. It created at once a state of  
25 open, public war. There could now be no longer a question of proceeding against individuals, as guilty of treason or rebellion. That fearful crisis was past. The appeal lay to the sword, and the only question was, whether the spirit and the resources of the people  
30 would hold out till the object should be accomplished. Nor were its general consequences confined to our own country. The previous proceedings of the Colonies, their appeals, resolutions, and addresses, had made their cause known to Europe. Without boasting, we

may say, that in no age or country has the public cause been maintained with more force of argument, more power of illustration, or more of that persuasion which excited feeling and elevated principle can alone bestow, than the Revolutionary state papers exhibit. 5 These papers will forever deserve to be studied, not only for the spirit which they breathe, but for the ability with which they were written.

To this able vindication of their cause, the Colonies had now added a practical and severe proof of their 10 own true devotion to it, and given evidence also of the power which they could bring to its support. All now saw, that if America fell, she would not fall without a struggle. Men felt sympathy and regard, as well as surprise, when they beheld these infant states, remote, 15 unknown, unaided, encounter the power of England, and, in the first considerable battle, leave more of their enemies dead on the field, in proportion to the number of combatants, than had been recently known to fall in the wars of Europe. 20

Information of these events, circulating throughout the world, at length reached the ears of one who now hears me. He has not forgotten the emotion which the fame of Bunker Hill, and the name of Warren, excited in his youthful breast. 25

Sir, we are assembled to commemorate the establishment of great public principles of liberty, and to do honor to the distinguished dead. The occasion is too severe for eulogy of the living. But, Sir, your interesting relation to this country, the peculiar circum- 30 stances which surround you and surround us, call on me to express the happiness which we derive from your presence and aid in this solemn commemoration.

Fortunate, fortunate man! with what measure of de-

votion will you not thank God for the circumstances of your extraordinary life! You are connected with both hemispheres and with two generations. Heaven saw fit to ordain that the electric spark of liberty should be conducted, through you, from the New World to the Old; and we, who are now here to perform this duty of patriotism, have all of us long ago received it in charge from our fathers to cherish your name and your virtues. You will account it an instance of your good fortune, Sir, that you crossed the seas to visit us at a time which enables you to be present at this solemnity. You now behold the field, the renown of which reached you in the heart of France, and caused a thrill in your ardent bosom. You see the lines of the little redoubt thrown up by the incredible diligence of Prescott; defended, to the last extremity, by his lion-hearted valor; and within which the corner-stone of our monument has now taken its position. You see where Warren fell, and where Parker, Gardner, McCleary, Moore, and other early patriots, fell with him. Those who survived that day, and whose lives have been prolonged to the present hour, are now around you. Some of them you have known in the trying scenes of the war. Behold! they now stretch forth their feeble arms to embrace you. Behold! they raise their trembling voices to invoke the blessing of God on you and yours forever.

Sir, you have assisted us in laying the foundation of this structure. You have heard us rehearse, with our feeble commendation, the names of departed patriots. Monuments and eulogy belong to the dead. We give them this day to Warren and his associates. On other occasions they have been given to your more immediate companions in arms, to Washington, to Greene, to Gates,

to Sullivan, and to Lincoln. We have become reluctant to grant these, our highest and last honors, further. We would gladly hold them yet back from the little remnant of that immortal band. *Serus in cælum redeas.* Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, oh, very far distant be the day when any inscription shall bear your name, or any tongue pronounce its eulogy!

The leading reflection to which this occasion seems to invite us respects the great changes which have happened in the fifty years since the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. And it peculiarly marks the character of the present age, that, in looking at these changes, and in estimating their effect on our condition, we are obliged to consider, not what has been done in our own country only, but in others also. In these interesting times, while nations are making separate and individual advances in improvement, they make, too, a common progress; like vessels on a common tide, propelled by the gales at different rates, according to their several structure and management, but all moved forward by one mighty current, strong enough to bear onward whatever does not sink beneath it.

A chief distinction of the present day is a community of opinions and knowledge amongst men in different nations, existing in a degree heretofore unknown. Knowledge has, in our time, triumphed, and is triumphing, over distance, over difference of languages, over diversity of habits, over prejudice, and over bigotry. The civilized and Christian world is fast learning the great lesson, that difference of nation does not imply necessary hostility, and that all contact need not be war. The whole world is becoming a common field for intellect to act in. Energy of mind, genius, power, where-soever it exists, may speak out in any tongue, and the

world will hear it. A great chord of sentiment and feeling runs through two continents, and vibrates over both. Every breeze wafts intelligence from country to country; every wave rolls it; all give it forth, and all  
5 in turn receive it. There is a vast commerce of ideas; there are marts and exchanges for intellectual discoveries, and a wonderful fellowship of those individual intelligences which make up the mind and opinion of the age. Mind is the great lever of all things; human  
10 thought is the process by which human ends are ultimately answered; and the diffusion of knowledge, so astonishing in the last half-century, has rendered innumerable minds, variously gifted by nature, competent to be competitors or fellow-workers on the theatre of  
15 intellectual operation.

From these causes important improvements have taken place in the personal condition of individuals. Generally speaking, mankind are not only better fed and better clothed, but they are able also to enjoy  
20 more leisure; they possess more refinement and more self-respect. A superior tone of education, manners, and habits prevails. This remark, most true in its application to our own country, is also partly true when applied elsewhere. It is proved by the vastly  
25 augmented consumption of those articles of manufacture and of commerce which contribute to the comforts and the decencies of life; an augmentation which has far outrun the progress of population. And while the unexampled and almost incredible use of machinery  
30 would seem to supply the place of labor, labor still finds its occupation and its reward; so wisely has Providence adjusted men's wants and desires to their condition and their capacity.

Any adequate survey, however, of the progress made

during the last half-century in the polite and the mechanic arts, in machinery and manufactures, in commerce and agriculture, in letters and in science, would require volumes. I must abstain wholly from these subjects, and turn for a moment to the contemplation 5 of what has been done on the great question of politics and government. This is the master topic of the age; and during the whole fifty years it has intensely occupied the thoughts of men. The nature of civil government, its ends and uses, have been canvassed 10 and investigated; ancient opinions attacked and defended; new ideas recommended and resisted, by whatever power the mind of man could bring to the controversy. From the closet and the public halls the debate has been transferred to the field; and the world 15 has been shaken by wars of unexampled magnitude, and the greatest variety of fortune. A day of peace has at length succeeded; and now that the strife has subsided, and the smoke cleared away, we may begin to see what has actually been done, permanently 20 changing the state and condition of human society. And, without dwelling on particular circumstances, it is most apparent, that, from the before-mentioned causes of augmented knowledge and improved individual condition, a real, substantial, and important 25 change has taken place, and is taking place, highly favorable, on the whole, to human liberty and human happiness.

The great wheel of political revolution began to move in America. Here its rotation was guarded, regular, 30 and safe. Transferred to the other continent, from unfortunate but natural causes, it received an irregular and violent impulse; it whirled along with a fearful celerity; till at length, like the chariot wheels in the



aces of antiquity, it took fire from the rapidity of its own motion, and blazed onward, spreading conflagration and terror around.

We learn from the result of this experiment, how  
5 fortunate was our own condition, and how admirably the character of our people was calculated for setting the great example of popular governments. The possession of power did not turn the heads of the American people, for they had long been in the habit of exercising a great degree of self-control. Although the  
10 paramount authority of the parent state existed over them, yet a large field of legislation had always been open to our Colonial assemblies. They were accustomed to representative bodies and the forms of free government; they understood the doctrine of the division of  
15 power among different branches, and the necessity of checks on each. The character of our countrymen, moreover, was sober, moral, and religious; and there was little in the change to shock their feelings of justice and humanity, or even to disturb an honest prejudice. We had no domestic throne to overturn, no privileged orders to cast down, no violent changes of property to encounter. In the American Revolution, no man  
20 sought or wished for more than to defend and enjoy his own. None hoped for plunder or for spoil. Rapacity was unknown to it; the axe was not among the instruments of its accomplishment; and we all know that it could not have lived a single day under any well-founded imputation of possessing a tendency adverse to the Christian religion.  
30

It need not surprise us, that, under circumstances less auspicious, political revolutions elsewhere, even when well intended, have terminated differently. It is, indeed, a great achievement; it is the master-work of the

world, to establish governments entirely popular on lasting foundations; nor is it easy, indeed, to introduce the popular principle at all into governments to which it has been altogether a stranger. It cannot be doubted, however, that Europe has come out of the contest, in which she has been so long engaged, with greatly superior knowledge, and, in many respects, in a highly improved condition. Whatever benefit has been acquired is likely to be retained, for it consists mainly in the acquisition of more enlightened ideas. And although kingdoms and provinces may be wrested from the hands that hold them, in the same manner they were obtained; although ordinary and vulgar power may, in human affairs, be lost as it has been won; yet it is the glorious prerogative of the empire of knowledge, that what it gains it never loses. On the contrary, it increases by the multiple of its power; all its ends become means; all its attainments, helps to new conquests. Its whole abundant harvest is but so much seed wheat, and nothing has limited, and nothing can limit the amount of ultimate product.

Under the influence of this rapidly increasing knowledge, the people have begun, in all forms of government, to think and to reason on affairs of state. Regarding government as an institution for the public good, they demand a knowledge of its operations, and a participation in its exercise. A call for the representative system, wherever it is not enjoyed, and where there is already intelligence enough to estimate its value, is perseveringly made. Where men may speak out, they demand it! where the bayonet is at their throats, they pray for it.

When Louis the Fourteenth said, "I am the State," he expressed the essence of the doctrine of unlimited

power. By the rules of that system, the people are disconnected from the state; they are its subjects, it is their lord. These ideas, founded in the love of power, and long supported by the excess and the abuse  
5 of it, are yielding, in our age, to other opinions; and the civilized world seems at last to be proceeding to the conviction of that fundamental and manifest truth, that the powers of government are but a trust, and that they cannot be lawfully exercised but for the  
10 good of the community. As knowledge is more and more extended, this conviction becomes more and more general. Knowledge, in truth, is the great sun in the firmament. Life and power are scattered with all its beams. The prayer of the Grecian champion,  
15 when enveloped in unnatural clouds and darkness, is the appropriate political supplication for the people of every country not yet blessed with free institutions:—

“Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore,  
Give me to SEE,—and Ajax asks no more.”

20 We may hope that the growing influence of enlightened sentiment will promote the permanent peace of the world. Wars to maintain family alliances, to uphold or to cast down dynasties, and to regulate successions to thrones, which have occupied so much room in the his-  
25 tory of modern times, if not less likely to happen at all, will be less likely to become general and involve many nations, as the great principle shall be more and more established, that the interest of the world is peace, and its first great statute that every nation possesses the  
30 power of establishing a government for itself. But public opinion has attained also an influence over governments which do not admit the popular principle into their organization. A necessary respect for the judg-

ment of the world operates, in some measure, as a control over the most unlimited forms of authority. It is owing, perhaps, to this truth, that the interesting struggle of the Greeks has been suffered to go on so long, without a direct interference, either to wrest that coun- 5 try from its present masters, or to execute the system of pacification by force, and, with united strength, lay the neck of Christian and civilized Greek at the foot of the barbarian Turk. Let us thank God that we live in an age when something has influence besides the bayonet, 10 and when the sternest authority does not venture to encounter the scorching power of public reproach. Any attempt of the kind I have mentioned should be met by one universal burst of indignation; the air of the civilized world ought to be made too warm to be com- 15 fortably breathed by any one who would hazard it.

It is, indeed, a touching reflection, that, while in the fulness of our country's happiness, we rear this monument to her honor, we look for instruction in our undertaking to a country which is now in fearful con- 20 test, not for works of art or memorials of glory, but for her own existence. Let her be assured that she is not forgotten in the world; that her efforts are applauded, and that constant prayers ascend for her success. And let us cherish a confident hope for her final 25 triumph. If the true spark of religious and civil liberty be kindled, it will burn. Human agency cannot extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire, it may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its inherent and 30 unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or other, in some place or other, the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven.

Among the great events of the half-century, we

must reckon, certainly, the revolution of South America; and we are not likely to overrate the importance of that revolution, either to the people of the country itself or to the rest of the world. The late Spanish colonies, now independent states, under circumstances less favorable, doubtless, than attended our own revolution, have yet successfully commenced their national existence. They have accomplished the great object of establishing their independence; they are known and acknowledged in the world; and although in regard to their systems of government, their sentiments on religious toleration, and their provision for public instruction, they may have yet much to learn, it must be admitted that they have risen to the condition of settled and established states more rapidly than could have been reasonably anticipated. They already furnish an exhilarating example of the difference between free governments and despotic misrule. Their commerce, at this moment, creates a new activity in all the great marts of the world. They show themselves able, by an exchange of commodities, to bear a useful part in the intercourse of nations.

A new spirit of enterprise and industry begins to prevail; all the great interests of society receive a salutary impulse; and the progress of information not only testifies to an improved condition, but itself constitutes the highest and most essential improvement.

When the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, the existence of South America was scarcely felt in the civilized world. The thirteen little Colonies of North America habitually called themselves the "Continent." Borne down by Colonial subjugation, monopoly, and bigotry, these vast regions of the South were hardly visible above the horizon. But in our day there has

been, as it were, a new creation. The southern hemisphere emerges from the sea. Its lofty mountains begin to lift themselves into the light of heaven; its broad and fertile plains stretch out, in beauty, to the eye of civilized man, and at the mighty bidding of the voice 5 of political liberty the waters of darkness retire.

And, now, let us indulge an honest exultation in the conviction of the benefit which the example of our country has produced, and is likely to produce, on human freedom and human happiness. Let us endeavor to comprehend in all its magnitude, and to feel 10 in all its importance, the part assigned to us in the great drama of human affairs. We are placed at the head of the system of representative and popular governments. Thus far our example shows that such 15 governments are compatible not only with respectability and power, but with repose, with peace, with security of personal rights, with good laws, and a just administration.

We are not propagandists. Wherever other systems 20 are preferred, either as being thought better in themselves, or as better suited to existing conditions, we leave the preference to be enjoyed. Our history hitherto proves, however, that the popular form is practicable, and that with wisdom and knowledge men may govern 25 themselves; and the duty incumbent on us is to preserve the consistency of this cheering example, and take care that nothing weaken its authority with the world. If, in our case, the representative system ultimately fail, popular governments must be pronounced impossible. 30 No combination of circumstances more favorable to the experiment can ever be expected to occur. The last hopes of mankind, therefore, rest with us; and if it should be proclaimed that our example had become an

argument against the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth.

These are excitements to duty; but they are not suggestions of doubt. Our history and our condition,  
5 all that is gone before us, and all that surrounds us, authorize the belief that popular governments, though subject to occasional variations, in form perhaps not always for the better, may yet, in their general character, be as durable and permanent as other systems. We  
10 know, indeed, that in our country any other is impossible. The *principle* of free governments adheres to the American soil. It is imbedded in it, immovable as its mountains.

And let the sacred obligations which have devolved  
15 on this generation, and on us, sink deep into our hearts. Those who established our liberty and our government are daily dropping from among us. The great trust now descends to new hands. Let us apply ourselves to that which is presented to us, as our appropriate  
20 object. We can win no laurels in a war for independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon, and Alfred, and other founders of states. Our fathers have filled them. But there remains to us a  
25 great duty of defence and preservation; and there is open to us also, a noble pursuit, to which the spirit of the times strongly invites us. Our proper business is improvement. Let our age be the age of improvement. In a day of peace, let us advance the arts of peace  
30 and the works of peace. Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and see whether we also, in our day and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered. Let us cultivate

a true spirit of union and harmony. In pursuing the great objects which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction, and an habitual feeling, that these twenty-four States are one country. Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our 5 duties. Let us extend our ideas over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be, OUR COUNTRY, OUR WHOLE COUNTRY, AND NOTHING BUT OUR COUNTRY. And, by the blessing of God, may that country itself become a vast and splendid monu- 10 ment, not of oppression and terror, but of Wisdom, of Peace, and of Liberty, upon which the world may gaze with admiration forever!



## SECOND JOINT DEBATE, AT FREEPORT

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

August 27, 1858

### MR. LINCOLN'S SPEECH

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—On Saturday last, Judge Douglas and myself first met in public discussion. He spoke one hour, I an hour and a half, and he replied for half an hour. The order is now reversed. I am  
5 to speak an hour, he an hour and a half, and then I am to reply for half an hour. I propose to devote myself during the first hour to the scope of what was brought within the range of his half-hour's speech at Ottawa. Of course there was brought within the scope  
10 in that half-hour's speech something of his own opening speech. In the course of that opening argument Judge Douglas proposed to me seven distinct interrogatories. In my speech of an hour and a half, I attended to some other parts of his speech, and incidentally, as I thought,  
15 answered one of the interrogatories then. I then distinctly intimated to him that I would answer the rest of his interrogatories on condition only that he should agree to answer as many for me. He made no intimation at the time of the proposition, nor did he in his  
20 reply allude at all to that suggestion of mine. I do him no injustice in saying that he occupied at least half of his reply in dealing with me as though I had *refused* to answer his interrogatories. I now propose that I will answer any of the interrogatories, upon con-

dition that he will answer questions from me not exceeding the same number. I will give him an opportunity to respond. The Judge remains silent. I now say that I will answer his interrogatories, whether he answers mine or not; and that after I have done so, I shall propound mine to him.

I have supposed myself, since the organization of the Republican party at Bloomington, in May, 1856, bound as a party man by the platforms of the party, then and since. If in any interrogatories which I shall answer I go beyond the scope of what is within these platforms, it will be perceived that no one is responsible but myself.

Having said thus much, I will take up the Judge's interrogatories as I find them printed in the *Chicago Times*, and answer them *seriatim*. In order that there may be no mistake about it, I have copied the interrogatories in writing, and also my answers to them. The first one of these interrogatories is in these words:

Question 1.—“I desire to know whether Lincoln to-day stands, as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law?”

Answer.—I do not now, nor ever did, stand in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law.

Question 2.—“I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to-day, as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more Slave States into the Union, even if the people want them?”

Answer.—I do not now, nor ever did, stand pledged against the admission of any more Slave States into the Union.

Question 3.—“I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new State into the

Union with such a Constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make?"

Answer.—I do not stand pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union, with such a Constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make.

Question 4.—"I want to know whether he stands to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?"

Answer.—I do not stand to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Question 5.—"I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different States?"

Answer.—I do not stand pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different States.

Question 6.—"I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States, north as well as south of the Missouri Compromise line?"

Answer.—I am impliedly, if not expressly, pledged to a belief in the *right* and *duty* of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States Territories.

Question 7.—"I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any new territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein?"

Answer.—I am not generally opposed to honest acquisition of territory; and, in any given case, I would or would not oppose such acquisition, accordingly as I might think such acquisition would or would not aggravate the slavery question among ourselves.

Now, my friends, it will be perceived, upon an examination of these questions and answers, that so far I have only answered that I was not *pledged* to this, that, or the other. The Judge has not framed his interroga-

tories to ask me anything more than this, and I have answered in strict accordance with the interrogatories, and have answered truly, that I am not *pledged* at all upon any of the points to which I have answered. But I am not disposed to hang upon the exact form of his 5 interrogatory. I am rather disposed to take up at least some of these questions, and state what I really think upon them.

As to the first one, in regard to the Fugitive Slave law, I have never hesitated to say, and I do not now 10 hesitate to say, that I think, under the Constitution of the United States, the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional Fugitive Slave law. Having said that, I have had nothing to say in regard to the existing Fugitive Slave law, further than that I think 15 it should have been framed so as to be free from some of the objections that pertain to it, without lessening its efficiency. And inasmuch as we are not now in an agitation in regard to an alteration or modification of that law, I would not be the man to introduce it as a 20 new subject of agitation upon the general question of slavery.

In regard to the other question, of whether I am pledged to the admission of any more Slave States into the Union, I state to you very frankly that I would be 25 exceedingly sorry ever to be put in a position of having to pass upon that question. I should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another Slave State admitted into the Union; but I must add that if slavery shall be kept out of the Territories during the 30 territorial existence of any one given Territory, and then the people shall, having a fair chance and a clear field, when they come to adopt the constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slave constitution,

uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union.

The third interrogatory is answered by the answer to  
5 the second, it being, as I conceive, the same as the second.

The fourth one is in regard to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. In relation to that, I have my mind very distinctly made up. I should be  
10 exceedingly glad to see slavery abolished in the District of Columbia. I believe that Congress possesses the constitutional power to abolish it. Yet as a member of Congress, I should not, with my present views, be in favor of *endeavoring* to abolish slavery in the District  
15 of Columbia, unless it would be upon these conditions: *First*, that the abolition should be gradual; *second*, that it should be on a vote of the majority of qualified voters in the District; and *third*, that compensation should be made to unwilling owners. With these three condi-  
20 tions, I confess I would be exceedingly glad to see Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and, in the language of Henry Clay, "sweep from our capital that foul blot upon our nation."

In regard to the fifth interrogatory, I must say here,  
25 that as to the question of the abolition of the slave-trade between the different States, I can truly answer, as I have, that I am *pledged* to nothing about it. It is a subject to which I have not given that mature consideration that would make me feel authorized to state a posi-  
30 tion so as to hold myself entirely bound by it. In other words, that question has never been prominently enough before me to induce me to investigate whether we really have the constitutional power to do it. I could investigate it if I had sufficient time to bring myself to

a conclusion upon that subject; but I have not done so, and I say so frankly to you here, and to Judge Douglas. I must say, however, that if I should be of opinion that Congress does possess the constitutional power to abolish the slave-trade among the different States, I should still 5 not be in favor of the exercise of that power, unless upon some conservative principle as I conceive it, akin to what I have said in relation to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

My answer as to whether I desire that slavery should 10 be prohibited in all the Territories of the United States, is full and explicit within itself, and cannot be made clearer by any comments of mine. So I suppose in regard to the question whether I am opposed to the acquisition of any more territory unless slavery is first 15 prohibited therein, my answer is such that I could add nothing by way of illustration, or making myself better understood, than the answer which I have placed in writing.

Now in all this the Judge has me, and he has me on 20 the record. I suppose he had flattered himself that I was really entertaining one set of opinions for one place, and another set for another place; that I was afraid to say at one place what I uttered at another. What I am saying here I suppose I say to a vast audience as 25 strongly tending to Abolitionism as any audience in the State of Illinois, and I believe I am saying that which, if it would be offensive to any persons and render them enemies to myself, would be offensive to persons in this audience. 30

I now proceed to propound to the Judge the interrogatories, so far as I have framed them. I will bring forward a new installment when I get them ready. I

will bring them forward now, only reaching to number four.

The first one is:—

Question 1.—If the people of Kansas shall, by means  
5 entirely unobjectionable in all other respects, adopt a State constitution, and ask admission into the Union under it, *before* they have the requisite number of inhabitants according to the English bill,—some ninety-three thousand,—will you vote to admit them?

10 Question 2.—Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State constitution?

Question 3.—If the Supreme Court of the United  
15 States shall decide that States cannot exclude slavery from their limits, are you in favor of acquiescing in, adopting, and following such decision as a rule of political action?

Question 4.—Are you in favor of acquiring addi-  
20 tional territory, in disregard of how such acquisition may affect the nation on the slavery question?

As introductory to these interrogatories which Judge Douglas propounded to me at Ottawa, he read a set of resolutions which he said Judge Trumbull and myself  
25 had participated in adopting, in the first Republican State Convention, held at Springfield in October, 1854. He insisted that I and Judge Trumbull, and perhaps the entire Republican party, were responsible for the doctrines contained in the set of resolutions which he  
30 read, and I understand that it was from that set of resolutions that he deduced the interrogatories which he propounded to me, using these resolutions as a sort of authority for propounding those questions to me. Now, I say here to-day that I do not answer his interroga-

tories because of their springing at all from that set of resolutions which he read. I answered them because Judge Douglas thought fit to ask them. I do not now, nor never did, recognize any responsibility upon myself in that set of resolutions. When I replied to him on 5 that occasion, I assured him that I never had anything to do with them. I repeat here to-day that I never in any possible form had anything to do with that set of resolutions. It turns out, I believe, that those resolutions were never passed in any convention held in 10 Springfield. It turns out that they were never passed at any convention or any public meeting that I had any part in. I believe it turns out, in addition to all this, that there was not, in the fall of 1854, any convention holding a session in Springfield, calling itself a Republi- 15 can State Convention; yet it is true there was a convention, or assemblage of men calling themselves a convention, at Springfield, that did pass *some* resolutions. But so little did I really know of the proceedings of that convention, or what set of resolutions they had passed, 20 though having a general knowledge that there had been such an assemblage of men there, that when Judge Douglas read the resolutions, I really did not know but they had been the resolutions passed then and there. I did not question that they were the resolutions adopted. 25 For I could not bring myself to suppose that Judge Douglas could say what he did upon this subject without *knowing* that it was true. I contented myself, on that occasion, with denying, as I truly could, all connection with them, not denying or affirming whether they were 30 passed at Springfield. Now, it turns out that he had got hold of some resolutions passed at some convention or public meeting in Kane County. I wish to say here, that I don't conceive that in any fair and just mind



this discovery relieves me at all. I had just as much to do with the convention in Kane County as that at Springfield. I am just as much responsible for the resolutions at Kane County as those at Springfield,—the amount of the responsibility being exactly nothing in either case; no more than there would be in regard to a set of resolutions passed in the moon.

I allude to this extraordinary matter in this canvass for some further purpose than anything yet advanced.

10 Judge Douglas did not make his statement upon that occasion as matters that he believed to be true, but he stated them roundly as *being true*, in such form as to pledge his veracity for their truth. When the whole matter turns out as it does, and when we consider who

15 Judge Douglas is,—that he is a distinguished Senator of the United States; that he has served nearly twelve years as such; that his character is not at all limited as an ordinary Senator of the United States, but that his name has become of world-wide renown,—it is *most ex-*

20 *traordinary* that he should so far forget all the suggestions of justice to an adversary, or of prudence to himself, as to venture upon the assertion of that which the slightest investigation would have shown him to be wholly false. I can only account for his having done so

25 upon the supposition that that evil genius which has attended him through his life, giving to him an apparent astonishing prosperity, such as to lead very many good men to doubt there being any advantage in virtue over vice,—I say I can only account for it on the sup-

30 position that that evil genius has at last made up its mind to forsake him.

And I may add that another extraordinary feature of the Judge's conduct in this canvass—made more extraordinary by this incident—is, that he is in the habit, in

almost all the speeches he makes, of charging falsehood upon his adversaries, myself and others. I now ask whether he is able to find in anything that Judge Trumbull, for instance, has said, or in anything that I have said, a justification at all compared with what we have, 5 in this instance, for that sort of vulgarity.

I have been in the habit of charging as a matter of belief on my part that, in the introduction of the Nebraska bill into Congress, there was a conspiracy to make slavery perpetual and national. I have arranged 10 from time to time the evidence which establishes and proves the truth of this charge. I recurred to this charge at Ottawa. I shall not now have time to dwell upon it at very great length; but inasmuch as Judge Douglas, in his reply of half an hour, made some points 15 upon me in relation to it, I propose noticing a few of them.

The Judge insists that, in the first speech I made, in which I very distinctly made that charge, he thought for a good while I was in fun! that I was playful; that 20 I was not sincere about it; and that he only grew angry and somewhat excited when he found that I insisted upon it is a matter of earnestness. He says he characterized it as a falsehood so far as I implicated his *moral character* in that transaction. Well, I did not know, 25 till he presented that view, that I had implicated his moral character. He is very much in the habit, when he argues me up into a position I never thought of occupying, of very cosily saying he has no doubt Lincoln is "conscientious" in saying so. He should remember that I did not know but what *he* was ALTOGETHER "CONSCIENTIOUS" in that matter. I can conceive it possible for men to conspire to do a good thing, and I really find nothing in Judge Douglas's course or arguments

that is contrary to or inconsistent with his belief of a conspiracy to nationalize and spread slavery as being a good and blessed thing; and so I hope he will understand that I do not at all question but that in all this  
5 matter he is entirely "conscientious."

But to draw your attention to one of the points I made in this case, beginning at the beginning. When the Nebraska bill was introduced, or a short time afterward, by an amendment, I believe, it was provided that  
10 it must be considered "the true intent and meaning of this Act not to legislate slavery into any State or Territory, or to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to  
15 the Constitution of the United States." I have called his attention to the fact that when he and some others began arguing that they were giving an increased degree of liberty to the people in the Territories over and above what they formerly had on the question of slavery, a  
20 question was raised whether the law was enacted to give such unconditional liberty to the people; and to test the sincerity of this mode of argument, Mr. Chase, of Ohio, introduced an amendment, in which he made the law—if the amendment were adopted—expressly declare that  
25 the people of the Territory should have the power to exclude slavery if they saw fit. I have asked attention also to the fact that Judge Douglas and those who acted with him voted that amendment down, notwithstanding it expressed exactly the thing they said was the true  
30 intent and meaning of the law. I have called attention to the fact that in subsequent times a decision of the Supreme Court has been made, in which it has been declared that a Territorial Legislature has no constitutional right to exclude slavery. And I have argued and

said that for men who did intend that the people of the Territory should have the right to exclude slavery absolutely and unconditionally, the voting down of Chase's amendment is wholly inexplicable. It is a puzzle, a riddle. But I have said, that with men who did look 5 forward to such a decision, or who had it in contemplation that such a decision of the Supreme Court would or might be made, the voting down of that amendment would be perfectly rational and intelligible. It would keep Congress from coming in collision with the deci- 10 sion when it was made. Anybody can conceive that if there was an intention or expectation that such a decision was to follow, it would not be a very desirable party attitude to get into for the Supreme Court—all or nearly all its members belonging to the same party—to decide 15 one way, when the party in Congress had decided the other way. Hence it would be very rational for men expecting such a decision to keep the niche in that law clear for it. After pointing this out, I tell Judge Douglas that it looks to me as though here was the reason 20 why Chase's amendment was voted down. I tell him that, as he did it, and knows why he did it, if it was done for a reason different from this, *he knows what that reason was, and can tell us what it was*. I tell him, also, it will be vastly more satisfactory to the country 25 for him to give some other plausible, intelligible reason *why* it was voted down than to stand upon his dignity and call people liars. Well, on Saturday he did make his answer; and what do you think it was? He says if I had only taken upon myself to tell the whole truth 30 about that amendment of Chase's, no explanation would have been necessary on his part—or words to that effect. Now, I say here that I am quite unconscious of having suppressed anything material to the case, and I am very

frank to admit if there is any sound reason other than that which appeared to me material, it is quite fair for him to present it. What reason does he propose? That when Chase came forward with his amendment expressly  
5 authorizing the people to exclude slavery from the limits of every Territory, General Cass proposed to Chase, if he (Chase) would add to his amendment that the people should have the power to *introduce* or exclude, they would let it go. This is substantially all of his reply.  
10 And because Chase would not do that, they voted his amendment down. Well, it turns out, I believe, upon examination, that General Cass took some part in the little running debate upon that amendment, and then ran away *and did not vote on it at all*. Is not that the  
15 fact? So confident, as I think, was General Cass that there was a snake somewhere about, he chose to run away from the whole thing. This is an inference I draw from the fact, that though he took part in the debate, his name does not appear in the ayes and noes.  
20 But does Judge Douglas's reply amount to a satisfactory answer? [Cries of "Yes," "Yes," and "No," "No."] There is some little difference of opinion here. But I ask attention to a few more views bearing on the question of whether it amounts to a satisfactory answer.  
25 The men who were determined that that amendment should not get into the bill and spoil the place where the Dred Scott decision was to come in, sought an excuse to get rid of it somewhere. One of these ways—one of these excuses—was to ask Chase to add to his  
30 proposed amendment a provision that the people might *introduce* slavery if they wanted to. They very well knew Chase would do no such thing, that Mr. Chase was one of the men differing from them on the broad principle of his insisting that freedom was *better* than sla-

very,—a man who would not consent to enact a law, penned with his own hand, by which he was made to recognize slavery on the one hand, and liberty on the other, as *precisely equal*; and when they insisted on his doing this, they very well knew they insisted on that 5 which he would not for a moment think of doing, and that they were only bluffing him. I believe (I have not, since he made his answer, had a chance to examine the journals or “Congressional Globe” and therefore speak from memory)—I believe the state of the bill at 10 that time, according to parliamentary rules, was such that no member could propose an additional amendment to Chase’s amendment. I rather think this is the truth,—the Judge shakes his head. Very well. I would like to know, then, *if they wanted Chase’s amend- 15 ment fixed over, why somebody else could not have offered to do it?* If they wanted it amended, why did they not offer the amendment? Why did they stand there taunting and quibbling at Chase? Why did they not *put it in themselves?* But to put it on the other 20 ground: suppose that there was such an amendment offered, and Chase’s was an amendment to an amendment; until one is disposed of by parliamentary law, you cannot pile another on. Then all these gentlemen had to do was to vote Chase’s on, and then, in the amended 25 form in which the whole stood, add their own amendment to it, if they wanted to put it in that shape. This was all they were obliged to do, and the ayes and noes show that there were thirty-six who voted it down, against ten who voted in favor of it. The thirty-six 30 held entire sway and control. They could in some form or other have put that bill in the exact shape they wanted. If there was a rule preventing their amending it at the time, they could pass that, and then, Chase’s

amendment being merged, put it in the shape they wanted. They did not choose to do so, but they went into a quibble with Chase to get him to add what they knew he would not add, and because he would not, they stand upon the flimsy pretext for voting down what they argued was the meaning and intent of their own bill. They left room thereby for this Dred Scott decision, which goes very far to make slavery national throughout the United States.

10 I pass one or two points I have, because my time will very soon expire; but I must be allowed to say that Judge Douglas recurs again, as he did upon one or two other occasions, to the enormity of Lincoln,—an insignificant individual like Lincoln,—upon his *ipse dixit* charging a conspiracy upon a large number of members of Congress, the Supreme Court, and two Presidents, to nationalize slavery. I want to say that, in the first place, I have made no charge of this sort upon my *ipse dixit*. I have only arrayed the evidence tending to prove it, and presented it to the understanding of others, saying what I think it proves, but giving you the means of judging whether it proves it or not. This is precisely what I have done. I have not placed it upon my *ipse dixit* at all. On this occasion, I wish to recall his attention to a piece of evidence which I brought forward at Ottawa on Saturday, showing that he had made substantially the *same charge* against substantially the *same persons*, excluding his dear self from the category. I ask him to give some attention to the evidence which I brought forward that he himself had discovered a “fatal blow being struck” against the right of the people to exclude slavery from their limits, which fatal blow he assumed as in evidence in an article in the Washington “Union,” published “by authority.” I ask by whose

authority? He discovers a similar or identical provision in the Lecompton Constitution. Made by whom? The framers of that Constitution. Advocated by whom? By all the members of the party in the nation, who advocated the introduction of Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution.

I have asked his attention to the evidence that he arrayed to prove that such a fatal blow was being struck, and to the facts which he brought forward in support of that charge,—being identical with the one which he thinks so villainous in me. He pointed it, not at a newspaper editor merely, but at the President and his Cabinet and the members of Congress advocating the Lecompton Constitution and those framing that instrument. I must again be permitted to remind him that although my *ipse dixit* may not be as great as his, yet it somewhat reduces the force of his calling my attention to the *enormity* of my making a like charge against him.

Go on, Judge Douglas.

#### MR. DOUGLAS'S SPEECH.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—The silence with which you have listened to Mr. Lincoln during his hour is creditable to this vast audience, composed of men of various political parties. Nothing is more honorable to any large mass of people assembled for the purpose of a fair discussion than that kind and respectful attention that is yielded, not only to your political friends, but to those who are opposed to you in politics.

I am glad that at last I have brought Mr. Lincoln to the conclusion that he had better define his position on certain political questions to which I called his attention at Ottawa. He there showed no disposition, no inclina-



tion, to answer them. I did not present idle questions for him to answer, merely for my gratification. I laid the foundation for those interrogatories by showing that they constituted the platform of the party whose nominee he is for the Senate. I did not presume that I had the right to catechise him as I saw proper, unless I showed that his party, or a majority of it, stood upon the platform and were in favor of the propositions upon which my questions were based. I desired simply to know, inasmuch as he had been nominated as the first, last, and only choice of his party, whether he concurred in the platform which that party had adopted for its government. In a few minutes I will proceed to review the answers which he has given to these interrogatories; but, in order to relieve his anxiety, I will first respond to these which he has presented to me. Mark you, he has not presented interrogatories which have ever received the sanction of the party with which I am acting, and hence he has no other foundation for them than his own curiosity.

First, he desires to know if the people of Kansas shall form a constitution by means entirely proper and unobjectionable, and ask admission into the Union as a State, before they have the requisite population for a member of Congress, whether I will vote for that admission. Well, now, I regret exceedingly that he did not answer that interrogatory himself before he put it to me, in order that we might understand, and not be left to infer, on which side he is. Mr. Trumbull, during the last session of Congress, voted from the beginning to the end against the admission of Oregon, although a Free State, because she had not the requisite population for a member of Congress. Mr. Trumbull would not consent, under any circumstances, to let a State, free or

slave, come into the Union until it had the requisite population. As Mr. Trumbull is in the field, fighting for Mr. Lincoln, I would like to have Mr. Lincoln answer his own question, and tell me whether he is fighting Trumbull on that issue or not. But I will answer his question. In reference to Kansas, it is my opinion that as she has population enough to constitute a Slave State, she has people enough for a Free State. I will not make Kansas an exceptional case to the other States of the Union. I hold it to be a sound rule, of universal application, to require a Territory to contain the requisite population for a member of Congress before it is admitted as a State into the Union. I made that proposition in the Senate in 1856, and I renewed it during the last session, in a bill providing that no Territory of the United States should form a constitution and apply for admission until it had the requisite population. On another occasion I proposed that neither Kansas nor any other Territory should be admitted until it had the requisite population. Congress did not adopt any of my propositions containing this general rule, but did make an exception of Kansas. I will stand by that exception. Either Kansas must come in as a Free State, with whatever population she may have, or the rule must be applied to all the other Territories alike. I therefore answer at once, that, it having been decided that Kansas has people enough for a Slave State, I hold that she has enough for a Free State. I hope Mr. Lincoln is satisfied with my answer; and now I would like to get his answer to his own interrogatory,—whether or not he will vote to admit Kansas before she has the requisite population. I want to know whether he will vote to admit Oregon before that Territory has the requisite population. Mr. Trumbull will not, and the same rea-

son that commits Mr. Trumbull against the admission of Oregon, commits him against Kansas, even if she should apply for admission as a Free State. If there is any sincerity, any truth, in the argument of Mr. Trumbull in the Senate, against the admission of Oregon because she had not 93,420 people, although her population was larger than that of Kansas, he stands pledged against the admission of both Oregon and Kansas until they have 93,420 inhabitants. I would like Mr. Lincoln to answer this question. I would like him to take his own medicine. If he differs with Mr. Trumbull, let him answer his argument against the admission of Oregon, instead of poking questions at me.

The next question propounded to me by Mr. Lincoln is, Can the people of a Territory in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution? I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a Territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution. Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that question over and over again. He heard me argue the Nebraska bill on that principle all over the State in 1854, in 1855, and in 1856, and he has no excuse for pretending to be in doubt as to my position on that question. It matters not what way the Supreme court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a Territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police

regulations can only be established by the local legislature; and if the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their 5 legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a Slave Territory or a Free Territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill. I hope Mr. Lincoln 10 deems my answer satisfactory on that point.

In this connection, I will notice the charge which he has introduced in relation to Mr. Chase's amendment. I thought that I had chased that amendment out of Mr. Lincoln's brain at Ottawa; but it seems that it still 15 haunts his imagination, and he is not yet satisfied. I had supposed that he would be ashamed to press that question further. He is a lawyer, and has been a member of Congress, and has occupied his time and amused you by telling you about parliamentary proceedings. He 20 ought to have known better than to try to palm off his miserable impositions upon this intelligent audience. The Nebraska bill provided that the legislative power and authority of the said Territory should extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the 25 organic act and the Constitution of the United States. I did not make any exception as to slavery, but gave all the power that it was possible for Congress to give, without violating the Constitution, to the Territorial legislature, with no exception or limitation on the subject of 30 slavery at all. The language of that bill which I have quoted gave the full power and the full authority over the subject of slavery, affirmatively and negatively, to introduce it or exclude it, so far as the Constitution of

the United States would permit. What more could Mr. Chase give by his amendment? Nothing. He offered his amendment for the identical purpose for which Mr. Lincoln is using it,—to enable demagogues in the country to try to try and deceive the people.

His amendment was to this effect. It provided that the legislature should have the power to exclude slavery; and General Cass suggested, “Why not give the power to introduce as well as exclude?” The answer was, They have the power already in the bill to do both. Chase was afraid his amendment would be adopted if he put the alternative proposition, and so make it fair both ways, but would not yield. He offered it for the purpose of having it rejected. He offered it, as he has himself avowed over and over again, simply to make capital out of it for the stump. He expected that it would be capital for small politicians in the country, and that they would make an effort to deceive the people with it; and he was not mistaken, for Lincoln is carrying out the plan admirably. Lincoln knows that the Nebraska bill, without Chase’s amendment, gave all the power which the Constitution would permit. Could Congress confer any more? Could Congress go beyond the Constitution of the country? We gave all a full grant, with no exception in regard to slavery one way or the other. We left that question as we left all others, to be decided by the people for themselves, just as they please. I will not occupy my time on this question. I have argued it before, all over Illinois. I have argued it in this beautiful city of Freeport; I have argued it in the North, the South, the East, and the West, avowing the same sentiments and the same principles. I have not been afraid to avow my sentiments up here for fear I would be trotted down into Egypt.

The third question which Mr. Lincoln presented is, If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that a State of this Union cannot exclude slavery from its own limits, will I submit to it? I am amazed that Lincoln should ask such a question. ["A schoolboy 5 knows better."] Yes, a schoolboy does know better. Mr. Lincoln's object is to cast an imputation upon the Supreme Court. He knows that there never was but one man in America, claiming any degree of intelligence or decency, who ever for a moment pretended such a 10 thing. It is true that the Washington "Union," in an article published on the 17th of last December, did put forth that doctrine, and I denounced the article on the floor of the Senate, in a speech which Mr. Lincoln now pretends was against the President. The "Union" had 15 claimed that slavery had a right to go into the Free States, and that any provision in the Constitution or laws of the Free States to the contrary were null and void. I denounced it in the Senate, as I said before, and I was the first man who did. Lincoln's friends, 20 Trumbull, and Seward, and Hale and Wilson, and the whole Black Republican side of the Senate, were silent. They left it to me to denounce it. And what was the reply made to me on that occasion? Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, got up and undertook to lecture me on the 25 ground that I ought not to have deemed the article worthy of notice, and ought not to have replied to it; that there was not one man, woman, or child south of the Potomac, in any Slave State, who did not repudiate any such pretension. Mr. Lincoln knows that that 30 reply was made on the spot, and yet now he asks this question. He might as well ask me, Suppose Mr. Lincoln should steal a horse, would I sanction it; and it would be as genteel in me to ask him, in the event he

stole a horse, what ought to be done with him. He casts an imputation upon the Supreme Court of the United States, by supposing that they would violate the Constitution of the United States. I tell him that  
5 such a thing is not possible. It would be an act of moral treason that no man on the bench could ever descend to. Mr. Lincoln himself would never in his partisan feelings so far forget what was right as to be guilty of such an act.

10 The fourth question of Mr. Lincoln is, Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard as to how such acquisition may affect the Union on the Slavery question? This question is very ingeniously and cunningly put.

15 The Black Republican creed lays it down expressly that under no circumstances shall we acquire any more territory, unless slavery is first prohibited in the country. I ask Mr. Lincoln whether he is in favor of that proposition. Are you [addressing Mr. Lincoln] opposed  
20 to the acquisition of any more territory, under any circumstances, unless slavery is prohibited in it? That he does not like to answer. When I ask him whether he stands up to that article in the platform of his party, he turns, Yankee-fashion, and without answering it,  
25 asks me whether I am in favor of acquiring territory without regard to how it may affect the Union on the slavery question. I answer that whenever it becomes necessary, in our growth and progress, to acquire more territory, that I am in favor of it, without reference to  
30 the question of slavery; and when we have acquired it, I will leave the people free to do as they please, either to make it slave or free territory, as they prefer. It is idle to tell me or you that we have territory enough. Our fathers supposed that we had enough when our ter-

ritory extended to the Mississippi River; but a few years' growth and expansion satisfied them that we needed more, and the Louisiana territory, from the West branch of the Mississippi to the British possessions, was acquired. Then we acquired Oregon, then California 5 and New Mexico. We have enough now for the present; but this is a young and growing nation. It swarms as often as a hive of bees; and as new swarms are turned out each year, there must be hives in which they can gather and make their honey. In less than fifteen years, 10 if the same progress that has distinguished this country for the last fifteen years continues, every foot of vacant land between this and the Pacific Ocean, owned by the United States, will be occupied. Will you not continue to increase at the end of fifteen years as well as now? 15 I tell you, increase, and multiply, and expand, is the law of this nation's existence. You cannot limit this great Republic by mere boundary lines, saying, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further." Any one of you gentlemen might as well say to a son twelve years old 20 that he is big enough, and must not grow any larger; and in order to prevent his growth, put a hoop around him to keep him to his present size. What would be the result? Either the hoop must burst and be rent asunder, or the child must die. So it would be with 25 this great nation. With our natural increase, growing with a rapidity unknown in any part of the globe, with the tide of emigration that is fleeing from despotism in the old world to seek refuge in our own, there is a constant torrent pouring into this country that requires 30 more land, more territory upon which to settle; and just as fast as our interests and our destiny require additional territory in the North, in the South, or on the islands of the ocean, I am for it; and when we acquire



it, will leave the people, according to the Nebraska bill, free to do as they please on the subject of slavery and every other question.

I trust now that Mr. Lincoln will deem himself answered on his four points. He racked his brain so much in devising these four questions that he exhausted himself, and had not strength enough to invent the others. As soon as he is able to hold a council with his advisers, Lovejoy, Farnsworth, and Fred Douglass, he will frame and propound others. ["Good, good."] You Black Republicans who say good, I have no doubt think that they are all good men. I have reason to recollect that some people in this country think that Fred Douglass is a very good man. The last time I came here to make a speech, while talking from the stand to you, people of Freeport, as I am doing to-day, I saw a carriage—and a magnificent one it was—drive up and take a position on the outside of the crowd; a beautiful young lady was sitting on the box-seat, whilst Fred Douglass and her mother reclined inside, and the owner of the carriage acted as driver. I saw this in your own town. ["What of it?"] All I have to say of it is this, that if you, Black Republicans, think that the negro ought to be on a social equality with your wives and daughters, and ride in a carriage with your wife, whilst you drive the team, you have perfect right to do so. I am told that one of Fred Douglass's kinsmen, another rich black negro, is now traveling in this part of the State, making speeches for his friend Lincoln as the champion of black men. ["What have you to say against it?"] All I have to say on that subject is, that those of you who believe that the negro is your equal and ought to be on an equality with you socially,

politically, and legally, have a right to entertain those opinions, and of course will vote for Mr. Lincoln.

I have a word to say on Mr. Lincoln's answers to the interrogatories contained in my speech at Ottawa, and which he has pretended to reply to here to-day. Mr. Lincoln makes a great parade of the fact that I quoted a platform as having been adopted by the Black Republican party at Springfield in 1854, which, it turns out, was adopted at another place. Mr. Lincoln loses sight of the thing itself in his ecstasies over the mistake I made in stating the place where it was done. He thinks that that platform was not adopted on the right "spot."

When I put the direct questions to Mr. Lincoln to ascertain whether he now stands pledged to that creed, —to the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, a refusal to admit any more Slave States into the Union, even if the people want them, a determination to apply the Wilmot Proviso, not only to all the territory we now have, but all that we may hereafter acquire, —he refused to answer; and his followers say, in excuse, that the resolutions upon which I based my interrogatories were not adopted at the "*right spot*." Lincoln and his political friends are great on "*spots*." In Congress, as a representative of this State, he declared the Mexican war to be unjust and infamous, and would not support it, or acknowledge his own country to be right in the contest, because he said that American blood was not shed on American soil in the "*right spot*." And now he cannot answer the questions I put to him at Ottawa because the resolutions I read were not adopted at the "*right spot*." It may be possible that I was led into an error as to the *spot* on which the resolutions I then read were proclaimed, but I was not, and am not, in error as to the fact of their forming the basis of the

creed of the Republican party when that party was first organized. I will state to you the evidence I had, and upon which I relied for my statement that the resolutions in question were adopted at Springfield on the 5th of October, 1854. Although I was aware that such resolutions had been passed in this district, and nearly all the Northern Congressional Districts and County Conventions, I had not noticed whether or not they had been adopted by any State convention. In 1856, a debate arose in Congress between Major Thomas L. Harris, of the Springfield District, and Mr. Norton, of the Joliet District, on political matters connected with our State, in the course of which, Major Harris quoted those resolutions as having been passed by the first Republican State Convention that ever assembled in Illinois. I knew that Major Harris was remarkable for his accuracy, that he was a very conscientious and sincere man, and I also noticed that Norton did not question the accuracy of this statement. I therefore took it for granted that it was so; and the other day when I concluded to use the resolutions at Ottawa, I wrote to Charles H. Lanphier, editor of the "State Register," at Springfield, calling his attention to them, telling him that I had been informed that Major Harris was lying sick at Springfield, and desiring him to call upon him and ascertain all the facts concerning the resolutions, the time and the place where they were adopted. In reply, Mr. Lanphier sent me two copies of his paper, which I have here. The first is a copy of the "State Register," published at Springfield, Mr. Lincoln's own town, on the 16th of October, 1854, only eleven days after the adjournment of the Convention, from which I desire to read the following:

"During the late discussions in this city, Lincoln

made a speech, to which Judge Douglas replied. In Lincoln's speech he took the broad ground that, according to the Declaration of Independence, the whites and blacks are equal. From this he drew the conclusion, which he several times repeated, that the white man had 5 no right to pass laws for the government of the black man without the nigger's consent. This speech of Lincoln's was heard and applauded by all the Abolitionists assembled in Springfield. So soon as Mr. Lincoln was done speaking, Mr. Coddington arose, and requested all the 10 delegates to the Black Republican Convention to withdraw into the Senate chamber. They did so; and after long deliberation, they laid down the following Abolition platform as the platform on which they stood. We call the particular attention of all our readers to it." 15

Then follows the identical platform, word for word, which I read at Ottawa. Now, that was published in Mr. Lincoln's own town, eleven days after the Convention was held, and it has remained on record up to this 20 day never contradicted.

When I quoted the resolutions at Ottawa and questioned Mr. Lincoln in relation to them, he said that his name was on the committee that reported them, but he did not serve, nor did he think he served, because he was, or thought he was, in Tazewell County at the time 25 the Convention was in session. He did not deny that the resolutions were passed by the Springfield Convention. He did not know better, and evidently thought that they were; but afterward his friends declared that they had discovered that they varied in some respects 30 from the resolutions passed by that Convention. I have shown you that I had good evidence for believing that the resolutions had been passed at Springfield. Mr. Lincoln ought to have known better; but not a word is

said about his ignorance on the subject, whilst I, notwithstanding the circumstances, am accused of forgery.

Now, I will show you that if I have made a mistake as to the place where these resolutions were adopted,—  
5 and when I get down to Springfield I will investigate the matter, and see whether or not I have,—that the principles they enunciate were adopted as the Black Republican platform ["white, white"], in the various counties and Congressional Districts throughout the  
10 north end of the State in 1854. This platform was adopted in nearly every county that gave a Black Republican majority for the Legislature in that year, and here is a man [pointing to Mr. Denio, who sat on the stand near Deacon Bross] who knows as well as any  
15 living man that it was the creed of the Black Republican party at that time. I would be willing to call Denio as a witness, or any other honest man belonging to that party. I will now read the resolutions adopted at the Rockford Convention on the 30th of August 1854,  
20 which nominated Washburne for Congress. You elected him on the following platform :

*"Resolved,* That the continued and increasing aggressions of slavery in our country are destructive of the best rights of a free people, and that such aggressions  
25 cannot be successfully resisted without the united political action of all good men.

*"Resolved,* That the citizens of the United States hold in their hands peaceful, constitutional, and efficient remedy against the encroachments of the slave power,—  
30 the ballot box; and if that remedy is boldly and wisely applied, the principles of liberty and eternal justice will be established.

*"Resolved,* That we accept this issue forced upon us by the slave power, and, in defence of freedom, will co-

operate and be known as Republicans, pledged to the accomplishment of the following purposes:—

“To bring the Administration of the Government back to the control of first principles; to restore Kansas and Nebraska to the position of Free Territories; to 5 repeal and entirely abrogate the Fugitive Slave law; to restrict slavery to those States in which it exists; to prohibit the admission of any more Slave States into the Union; to exclude slavery from all the Territories over which the General Government has exclusive juris- 10 diction; and to resist the acquisition of any more Territories, unless the introduction of slavery therein forever shall have been prohibited.

“*Resolved*, That in furtherance of these principles we will use such constitutional and lawful means as shall 15 seem best adapted to their accomplishment, and that we will support no man for office under the General or State Government who is not positively committed to the support of these principles, and whose personal character and conduct is not a guarantee that he is reliable, 20 and shall abjure all party allegiance and ties.

“*Resolved*, That we cordially invite persons of all former political parties whatever, in favor of the object expressed in the above resolutions, to unite with us in carrying them into effect.” 25

Well, you think that is a very good platform, do you not? If you do, if you approve it now, and think it is all right, you will not join with those men who say I libel you by calling these your principles, will you? Now, Mr. Lincoln complains; Mr. Lincoln charges that 30 I did you and him injustice by saying that this was the platform of your party. I am told that Washburne made a speech in Galena last night, in which he abused me awfully for bringing to light this platform, on which

he was elected to Congress. He thought that you had forgotten it, as he, and Mr. Lincoln desires too. He did not deny but that you had adopted it, and that he had subscribed to and was pledged by it, but he did  
5 not think it was fair to call it up and remind the people that it was their platform.

But I am glad to find that you are more honest in your Abolitionism than your leaders, by avowing that it is your platform, and right in your opinion.

10 In the adoption of that platform, you not only declared that you would resist the admission of any more Slave States, and work for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, but you pledged yourselves not to vote for any man for State or Federal offices who was not com-  
15 mitted to these principles. You were thus committed. Similar resolutions to those were adopted in your county Convention here, and now with your admissions that they are your platform and embody your sentiments now as they did then, what do you think of Mr. Lin-  
20 coln, your candidate for the United States Senate, who is attempting to dodge the responsibility of this platform, because it was not adopted in the right spot. I thought that it was adopted in Springfield; but it turns out it was not, that it was adopted at Rockford, and in  
25 the various counties which comprise this Congressional District. When I get into the next district, I will show that the same platform was adopted there, and so on through the State, until I nail the responsibility of it upon the Black Republican party throughout the State.

30 A voice: Couldn't you modify, and call it brown?

MR. DOUGLAS: Not a bit. I thought that you were becoming a little brown when your members in Congress voted for the Crittenden-Montgomery bill; but since you

have backed out from that position and gone back to Abolitionism you are black, and not brown.

Gentlemen, I have shown you what your platform was in 1854. You still adhere to it. The same platform was adopted by nearly all the counties where the Black 5 Republican party had a majority in 1854. I wish now to call your attention to the action of your representatives in the Legislature when they assembled together at Springfield. In the first place, you must remember that this was the organization of a new party. It is so 10 declared in the resolutions themselves, which say that you are going to dissolve all old party ties and call the new party Republican. The old Whig party was to have its throat cut from ear to ear, and the Democratic party was to be annihilated and blotted out of existence, 15 whilst in lieu of these parties the Black Republican party was to be organized on this Abolition platform. You know who the chief leaders were in breaking up and destroying these two great parties. Lincoln on the one hand, and Trumbull on the other, being disap- 20 pointed politicians, and having retired or been driven to obscurity by an outraged constituency because of their political sins, formed a scheme to Abolitionize the two parties, and lead the old line Whigs and old line Democrats captive, bound hand and foot, into the Abolition 25 camp. Giddings, Chase, Fred Douglass, and Lovejoy were here to christen them whenever they were brought in. Lincoln went to work to dissolve the old line Whig party. Clay was dead; and although the sod was not yet green on his grave, this man undertook to bring into 30 disrepute those great Compromise measures of 1850, with which Clay and Webster were identified. Up to 1854 the old Whig party and the Democratic party had stood on a common platform so far as this slavery ques-



tion was concerned. You Whigs and we Democrats differed about the bank, the tariff, distribution, the specie circular, and the sub-treasury, but we agreed on this slavery question, and the true mode of preserving the  
5 peace and harmony of the Union. The Compromise measures of 1850 were introduced by Clay, were defended by Webster, and supported by Cass, and were approved by Filmore, and sanctioned by the National men of both parties. They constituted a common plank  
10 upon which both Whigs and Democrats stood. In 1852 the Whig party, in its last National Convention at Baltimore, indorsed and approved these measures of Clay, and so did the National Convention of the Democratic party held that same year. Thus the old line Whigs  
15 and the old line Democrats stood pledged to the great principle of self-government, which guarantees to the people of each Territory the right to decide the slavery question for themselves. In 1854, after the death of Clay and Webster, Mr. Lincoln, on the part of the  
20 Whigs, undertook to Abolitionize the Whig party, by dissolving it, transferring the members into the Abolition camp, and making them train under Giddings, Fred Douglass, Lovejoy, Chase, Farnsworth, and other Abolition leaders. Trumbull undertook to dissolve the  
25 Democratic party by taking old Democrats into the Abolition camp. Mr. Lincoln was aided in his efforts by many leading Whigs throughout the State, your member of Congress, Mr. Washburne, being one of the most active. Trumbull was aided by many renegades from  
30 the Democratic party, among whom were John Wentworth, Tom Turner, and others, with whom you are familiar.

[Mr. TURNER, who was one of the moderators, here

interposed, and said that he had drawn the resolutions which Senator Douglas had read.]

Mr. DOUGLAS: Yes, and Turner says that he drew these resolutions. ["Hurrah for Turner," "Hurrah for Douglas."] That is right; give Turner cheers for 5 drawing the resolutions if you approve them. If he drew those resolutions, he will not deny that they are the creed of the Black Republican party.

Mr. TURNER: They are our creed exactly.

Mr. DOUGLAS: And yet Lincoln denies that he stands 10 on them. Mr. Turner says that the creed of the Black Republican party is the admission of no more Slave States, and yet Mr. Lincoln declares that he would not like to be placed in a position where he would have to vote for them. All I have to say to friend Lincoln is, 15 that I do not think there is much danger of his being placed in such an embarrassing position as to be obliged to vote on the admission of any more Slave States, I propose, out of mere kindness, to relieve him from any such necessity. 20

When the bargain between Lincoln and Trumbull was completed for Abolitionizing the Whig and Democratic parties, they "spread" over the State, Lincoln still pretending to be an old line Whig, in order to "rope in" the Whigs, and Trumbull pretending to be as good a 25 Democrat as he ever was, in order to coax the Democrats over into the Abolition ranks. They played the part that "decoy ducks" play down on the Potomac River. In that part of the country they make artificial ducks, and put them on the water in places where the wild 30 ducks are to be found, for the purpose of decoying them. Well, Lincoln and Trumbull played the part of these "decoy ducks," and deceived enough old line Whigs and old line Democrats to elect a Black Republican Legisla-

ture. When that Legislature met, the first thing it did was to elect as Speaker of the House the very man who is now boasting that he wrote the Abolition platform on which Lincoln will not stand. I want to know of Mr. 5 Turner whether or not, when he was elected, he was a good embodiment of Republican principles?

Mr. TURNER: I hope I was then, and am now.

Mr. DOUGLAS: He swears that he hopes he was then, and is now. He wrote that Black Republican platform, 10 and is satisfied with it now. I admire and acknowledge Turner's honesty. Every man of you knows that what he says about these resolutions being the platform of the Black Republican party is true, and you also know that each one of these men who are shuffling and trying to 15 deny it are only trying to cheat the people out of their votes for the purpose of deceiving them still more after the election. I propose to trace this thing a little further, in order that you can see what additional evidence there is to fasten this revolutionary platform upon 20 the Black Republican party. When the Legislature assembled, there was a United States Senator to elect in the place of General Shields, and before they proceeded to ballot, Lovejoy insisted on laying down certain principles by which to govern the party. It has been pub- 25 lished to the world and satisfactorily proven that there was, at the time the alliance was made between Trumbull and Lincoln to abolitionize the two parties, an agreement that Lincoln should take Shields's place in the United States Senate, and Trumbull should have 30 mine so soon as they could conveniently get rid of me. When Lincoln was beaten for Shields's place, in a manner I will refer to in a few minutes, he felt very sore and restive; his friends grumbled, and some of them came out and charged that the most infamous treachery

had been practiced against him; that the bargain was that Lincoln was to have had Shields's place, and Trumbull was to have waited for mine, but that Trumbull, having the control of a few Abolitionized Democrats, he prevented them from voting for Lincoln, thus keeping 5 him within a few votes of an election until he succeeded in forcing the party to drop him and elect Trumbull. Well, Trumbull having cheated Lincoln, his friends made a fuss, and in order to keep them and Lincoln quiet, the party were obliged to come forward, in advance, at the last State election, and make a pledge that they would go for Lincoln and nobody else. Lincoln could not be silenced in any other way.

Now, there are a great many Black Republicans of you who do not know this thing was done. ["White, 15 white," and great clamor.] I wish to remind you that while Mr. Lincoln was speaking there was not a Democrat vulgar and blackguard enough to interrupt him. But I know that the shoe is pinching you. I am clinching Lincoln now, and you are scared to death for the 20 result. I have seen this thing before. I have seen men make appointments for joint discussions, and the moment their man has been heard, try to interrupt and prevent a fair hearing of the other side. I have seen your mobs before, and defy your wrath. [Tremendous ap- 25 plause.] My friends, do not cheer, for I need my whole time. The object of the opposition is to occupy my attention in order to prevent me from giving the whole evidence and nailing this double dealing on the Black Republican party. As I have before said, Lovejoy de- 30 manded a declaration of principles on the part of the Black Republicans of the Legislature before going into an election for United States Senator. He offered the

following preamble and resolutions which I hold in my hand:

“WHEREAS, Human slavery is a violation of the principles of natural and revealed rights; and whereas  
5 the fathers of the Revolution, fully imbued with the spirit of these principles, declared freedom to be the inalienable birthright of all men; and whereas the preamble to the Constitution of the United States avers that that instrument was ordained to establish justice,  
10 and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity; and whereas, in furtherance of the above principles, slavery was forever prohibited in the old Northwest Territory, and more recently in all that Territory lying west and north of the State of Missouri,  
15 by the act of the Federal Government; and whereas the repeal of the prohibition last referred to was contrary to the wishes of the people of Illinois, a violation of an implied compact long deemed sacred by the citizens of the United States, and a wide departure from the  
20 uniform action of the General Government in relation to the extension of slavery; therefore,

*“Resolved, by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring therein, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested  
25 to introduce, if not otherwise introduced, and to vote for a bill to restore such prohibition to the aforesaid Territories, and also to extend a similar prohibition to all territory which now belongs to the United States, or which may hereafter come under their jurisdiction.*  
30 *“Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to vote against the admission of any State into the Union, the Constitution of which does not prohibit slavery, whether the territory out of which such State may have been*

formed shall have been acquired by conquest, treaty, purchase, or from original territory of the United States.

“*Resolved*, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to introduce and vote for a bill to repeal an Act entitled ‘An Act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their masters;’ and, failing in that, for such a modification of it as shall secure the right of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury before the regularly constituted authorities of the State, to all persons claimed as owing service or labor.”

Those resolutions were introduced by Mr. Lovejoy immediately preceding the election of Senator. They declared, first, that the Wilmot Proviso must be applied to all territory north of 36 deg., 30 min. Secondly, that it must be applied to all territory south of 36 deg., 30 min. Thirdly, that it must be applied to all the territory now owned by the United States; and finally, that it must be applied to all territory hereafter to be acquired by the United States. The next resolution declares that no more Slave States shall be admitted into this Union under any circumstances whatever, no matter whether they are formed out of territory now owned by us or that we may hereafter acquire, by treaty, by Congress, or in any manner whatever. The next resolution demands the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, although its unconditional repeal would leave no provision for carrying out that clause of the Constitution of the United States which guarantees the surrender of fugitives. If they could not get an unconditional repeal, they demanded that that law should be so modified as to make it as nearly useless as possible. Now, I want to show you who

voted for these resolutions. When the vote was taken on the first resolution it was decided in the affirmative,—yeas 41, nays 32. You will find that this is a strict party vote, between the Democrats on the one hand, and the Black Republicans on the other. [Cries of “White, white,” and clamor.] I know your name, and always call things by their right name. The point I wish to call your attention to is this: That these resolutions were adopted on the 7th day of February, and that on the 8th they went into an election for a United States Senator, and that day every man who voted for these resolutions, with but two exceptions, voted for Lincoln for the United States Senate. [“Give us their names.”] I will read the names over to you if you want them, but I believe your object is to occupy my time.

On the next resolution the vote stood—yeas 33, nays 40; and on the third resolution—yeas 35, nays 47. I wish to impress it upon you that every man who voted for those resolutions, with but two exceptions, voted on the next day for Lincoln for United States Senator. Bear in mind that the members who thus voted for Lincoln were elected to the Legislature pledged to vote for no man for office under the State or Federal Government who was not committed to this Black Republican platform. They were all so pledged. Mr. Turner, who stands by me, and who then represented you, and who says that he wrote those resolutions, voted for Lincoln, when he was pledged not to do so unless Lincoln was in favor of those resolutions. I now ask Mr. Turner [turning to Mr. Turner], did you violate your pledge in voting for Mr. Lincoln, or did he commit himself to your platform before you cast your vote for him?

I could go through the whole list of names here,

and show you that all the Black Republicans in the Legislature, who voted for Mr. Lincoln, had voted on the day previous for these resolutions. For instance, here are the names of Sargent and Little, of Jo Daviess and Carroll, Thomas J. Turner of Stephenson, Lawrence of Boone and McHenry, Swan of Lake, Pinckney of Ogle County, and Lyman of Winnebago. Thus you see every member from your Congressional District voted for Mr. Lincoln, and they were pledged not to vote for him unless he was committed to the doctrine of no more Slave States, the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, and the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law. Mr. Lincoln tells you to-day that he is not pledged to any such doctrine. Either Mr. Lincoln was then committed to those propositions, or Mr. Turner violated his pledges to you when he voted for him. Either Lincoln was pledged to each one of those propositions, or else every Black Republican Representative from this Congressional District violated his pledge of honor to his constituents by voting for him. I ask you which horn of the dilemma will you take? Will you hold Lincoln up to the platform of his party, or will you accuse every Representative you had in the Legislature of violating his pledge of honor to his constituents? There is no escape for you. Either Mr. Lincoln was committed to those propositions, or your members violated their faith. Take either horn of the dilemma you choose. There is no dodging the question; I want Lincoln's answer. He says he was not pledged to repeal the Fugitive Slave law, that he does not quite like to do it; he will not introduce a law to repeal it, but thinks there ought to be some law; he does not tell what it ought to be; upon the whole, he is altogether undecided, and don't know what to think or do. That is the



substance of his answer upon the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law. I put the question to him distinctly, whether he indorsed that part of the Black Republican platform which calls for the entire abrogation and repeal of the  
5 Fugitive Slave law. He answers, No! that he does not indorse that; but he does not tell what he is for, or what he will vote for. His answer is, in fact, no answer at all. Why cannot he speak out, and say what he is for, and what he will do?

10 In regard to there being no more Slave States, he is not pledged to that. He would not like, he says, to be put in a position where he would have to vote one way or another upon that question. I pray you, do not put him in a position that would embarrass him so  
15 much. Gentlemen, if he goes to the Senate, he may be put in that position, and then which way will he vote?

A VOICE: How will you vote?

MR. DOUGLAS: I will vote for the admission of just  
20 such a State as by the form of their Constitution the people show they want; if they want slavery, they shall have it; if they prohibit slavery, it shall be prohibited. They can form their institutions to please themselves, subject only to the Constitution; and I, for one, stand  
25 ready to receive them into the Union. Why cannot your Black Republican candidates talk out as plain as that when they are questioned?

I do not want to cheat any man out of his vote. No man is deceived in regard to my principles if I  
30 have the power to express myself in terms explicit enough to convey my ideas.

Mr. Lincoln made a speech when he was nominated for the United States Senate which covers all these Abolition platforms. He there lays down a proposition

so broad in its Abolitionism as to cover the whole ground.

"In my opinion it [the slavery agitation] will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe 5 this government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place 10 it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States,—old as well as new, North as well as South."

15

There you find that Mr. Lincoln lays down the doctrine that this Union cannot endure divided as our fathers made it, with Free and Slave States. He says they must all become one thing, or all the other; that they must all be free or all slave, or else the Union 20 cannot continue to exist; it being his opinion that to admit any more Slave States, to continue to divide the Union into Free and Slave States, will dissolve it. I want to know of Mr. Lincoln whether he will vote for the admission of another Slave State.

25

He tells you the Union cannot exist unless the States are all free or all slave; he tells you that he is opposed to making them all slave, and hence he is for making them all free, in order that the Union may exist; and yet he will not say that he will not vote against another 30 Slave State, knowing that the Union must be dissolved if he votes for it. I ask you if that is fair dealing? The true intent and inevitable conclusion to be drawn from his first Springfield speech is, that he is opposed

to the admission of any more Slave States under any circumstance. If he is so opposed, why not say so? If he believes this Union cannot endure divided into Free and Slave States, that they must all become free  
5 in order to save the Union, he is bound as an honest man to vote against any more Slave States. If he believes it, he is bound to do it. Show me that it is my duty, in order to save the Union, to do a particular act, and I will do it, if the Constitution does not pro-  
10 hibit it. I am not for the dissolution of the Union under any circumstances. I will pursue no course of conduct that will give just cause for the dissolution of the Union. The hope of the friends of freedom throughout the world rests upon the perpetuity of this  
15 Union. The downtrodden and oppressed people who are suffering under European despotism all look with hope and anxiety to the American Union as the only resting place and permanent home of freedom and self-government.

20 Mr. Lincoln says that he believes that this Union cannot continue to endure with Slave States in it, and yet he will not tell you distinctly whether he will vote for or against the admission of any more Slave States, but says he would not like to be put to the test. I  
25 do not think he will be put to the test. I do not think that the people of Illinois desire a man to represent them who would not like to be put to the test on the performance of a high constitutional duty. I will retire in shame from the Senate of the United  
30 States when I am not willing to be put to the test in the performance of my duty. I have been put to severe tests. I have stood by my principles in fair weather and in foul, in the sunshine and in the rain. I have defended the great principles of self-government

here among you when Northern sentiment ran in a torrent against me, and I have defended that same great principle when Southern sentiment came down like an avalanche upon me. I was not afraid of any  
5 test they put to me. I knew I was right; I knew my principles were sound; I knew that the people would see in the end that I had done right, and I knew that the God of heaven would smile upon me if I was faithful in the performance of my duty.

- 10 Mr. Lincoln makes a charge of corruption against the Supreme Court of the United States, and two Presidents of the United States, and attempts to bolster it up by saying that I did the same against the Washington "Union." Suppose I did make that charge of  
15 corruption against the Washington "Union," when it was true, does that justify him in making a false charge against me and others? That is the question I would put. He says that at the time the Nebraska bill was introduced, and before it was passed, there was a con-  
20 spiracy between the Judges of the Supreme Court, President Pierce, President Buchanan, and myself, by that bill and the decision of the court to break down the barrier and establish slavery all over the Union. Does he not know that that charge is historically false  
25 as against President Buchanan? He knows that Mr. Buchanan was at that time in England, representing this country with distinguished ability at the Court of St. James, that he was there for a long time before, and did not return for a year or more after. He knows  
30 that to be true, and that fact proves his charge to be false as against Mr. Buchanan. Then, again, I wish to call his attention to the fact that at the time the Nebraska bill was passed, the Dred Scott case was not before the Supreme Court at all; it was not upon the

docket of the Supreme Court; it had not been brought there; and the Judges in all probability knew nothing of it. Thus the history of the country proves the charge to be false as against them. As to President  
5 Pierce, his high character as a man of integrity and honor is enough to vindicate him from such a charge; and as to myself, I pronounce the charge an infamous lie, whenever and wherever made, and by whomsoever made. I am willing that Mr. Lincoln should go and  
10 rake up every public act of mine, every measure I have introduced, report I have made, speech delivered, and criticise them; but when he charges upon me a corrupt conspiracy for the purpose of perverting the institutions of the country, I brand it as it deserves.  
15 I say the history of the country proves it to be false, and that it could not have been possible at the time. But now he tries to protect himself in this charge, because I made a charge against the Washington  
20 "Union." My speech in the Senate against the Washington "Union" was made because it advocated a revolutionary doctrine, by declaring that the Free States had not the right to prohibit slavery within their own limits. Because I made that charge against the Washington  
25 "Union," Mr. Lincoln says it was a charge against Mr. Buchanan. Suppose it was: Is Mr. Lincoln the peculiar defender of Mr. Buchanan? Is he so interested in the Federal Administration, and so bound to it, that he must jump to the rescue and defend it from every attack that I may make against it? I understand the  
30 whole thing. The Washington "Union," under that most corrupt of all men, Cornelius Wendell, is advocating Mr. Lincoln's claim to the Senate. Wendell was the printer of the last Black Republican House of Representatives; he was a candidate before the present

Democratic House, but was ignominiously kicked out; and then he took the money which he had made out of the public printing by means of the Black Republicans, bought the Washington "Union," and is now publishing it in the name of the Democratic party, and advocating 5 Mr. Lincoln's election to the Senate. Mr. Lincoln therefore considers an attack upon Wendell and his corrupt gang as a personal attack upon him. This only proves what I have charged,—that there is an alliance between Lincoln and his supporters, and the 10 Federal office-holders of this State, and the Presidential aspirants out of it, to break me down at home.

Mr. Lincoln feels bound to come in to the rescue of the Washington "Union." In that speech which I delivered in answer to the Washington "Union," I made 15 it distinctly against the "Union," and against the "Union" alone. I did not choose to go beyond that. If I have reason to attack the President's conduct, I will do it in language that will not be misunderstood. When I differed with the President, I spoke out so that 20 you all heard me. That question passed away; it resulted in the triumph of my principle, by allowing the people to do as they please; and there is an end of the controversy. Whenever the great principle of self-government,—the right of the people to make their own 25 Constitution, and come into the Union with slavery or without it, as they see proper,—shall again arise, you will find me standing firm in defense of that principle, and fighting whoever fights it. If Mr. Buchanan stands, as I doubt not he will, by the recommendation 30 contained in his Message, that hereafter all State Constitutions ought to be submitted to the people before the admission of the State into the Union, he will find me standing by him firmly, shoulder to shoulder,

in carrying it out. I know Mr. Lincoln's object: He wants to divide the Democratic party, in order that he may defeat me and get to the Senate.

[MR. DOUGLAS'S time here expired, and he stopped  
5 on the moment.]

MR. LINCOLN'S REJOINDER

MY FRIENDS—It will readily occur to you that I cannot, in half an hour, notice all the things that so able a man as Judge Douglas can say in an hour and a half; and I hope, therefore, if there be anything that  
10 he has said upon which you would like to hear something from me, but which I omit to comment upon, you will bear in mind that it would be expecting an impossibility for me to go over his whole ground. I can but take up some of the points that he has dwelt  
15 upon, and employ my half-hour specially on them.

The first thing I have to say to you is a word in regard to Judge Douglas's declaration about the "vulgarity and blackguardism" in the audience,—that no such thing, as he says, was shown by any Democrat  
20 while I was speaking. Now, I only wish, by way of reply on this subject, to say that while *I* was speaking, *I* used no "vulgarity or blackguardism" toward any Democrat.

Now, my friends, I come to all this long portion of  
25 the Judge's speech,—perhaps half of it,—which he has devoted to the various resolutions and platforms that have been adopted in the different counties in the different Congressional Districts, and in the Illinois Legislature, which he supposes are at variance with the positions I have assumed before you to-day. It is true  
30 that many of these resolutions are at variance with the positions I have here assumed. All I have to ask is

that we talk reasonably and rationally about it. I happen to know, the Judge's opinion to the contrary notwithstanding, that I have never tried to conceal my opinions, nor tried to deceive any one in reference to  
5 them. He may go and examine all the members who voted for me for United States Senator in 1855, after the election of 1854. They were pledged to certain things here at home, and were determined to have pledges from me; and if he will find any of these  
10 persons who will tell him anything inconsistent with what I say now, I will resign, or rather retire from the race, and give him no more trouble. The plain truth is this: At the introduction of the Nebraska policy, we believed there was a new era being intro-  
15 duced in the history of the Republic, which tended to the spread and perpetuation of slavery. But in our opposition to that measure we did not agree with one another in everything. The people in the north end of the State were for stronger measures of opposition  
20 than we of the central and southern portions of the State, but we were all opposed to the Nebraska doctrine. We had that one feeling and that one sentiment in common. You at the north end met in your Conventions and passed your resolutions. We in the middle  
25 of the State and further south did not hold such Conventions and pass the same resolutions, although we had in general a common view and a common sentiment. So that these meetings which the Judge has alluded to, and the resolutions he has read from, were  
30 local, and did not spread over the whole State. We at last met together in 1856, from all parts of the State, and we agreed upon a common platform. You, who held more extreme notions, either yielded those notions, or, if not wholly yielding them, agreed to



yield them practically, for the sake of embodying the opposition to the measures which the opposite party were pushing forward at that time. We met you then, and if there was anything yielded, it was for practical  
5 purposes. We agreed then upon a platform for the party throughout the entire State of Illinois, and now we are all bound, as a party, *to that platform*. And I say here to you, if any one expects of me—in the case of my election—that I will do anything not signified by  
10 our Republican platform and my answers here to-day, I tell you very frankly that person will be deceived. I do not ask for the vote of any one who supposes that I have secret purposes or pledges that I dare not speak out. Cannot the Judge be satisfied? If he fears, in  
15 the unfortunate case of my election, that my going to Washington will enable me to advocate sentiments contrary to those which I expressed when you voted for and elected me, I assure him that his fears are wholly needless and groundless. Is the Judge really afraid of  
20 any such thing? I'll tell you what he is afraid of. *He is afraid we'll all pull together*. This is what alarms him more than anything else. For my part, I do hope that all of us, entertaining a common sentiment in opposition to what appears to us a design to na-  
25 tionalize and perpetuate slavery, will waive minor differences on questions which either belong to the dead past or the distant future, and all pull together in this struggle. What are your sentiments? If it be true that on the ground which I occupy—ground which I  
30 occupy as frankly and boldly as Judge Douglas does his,—my views, though partly coinciding with yours, are not as perfectly in accordance with your feelings as his are, I do say to you in all candor, go for him, and not for me. I hope to deal in all things fairly with

Judge Douglas, and with the people of the State, in this contest. And if I should never be elected to any office, I trust I may go down with no stain of falsehood upon my reputation, notwithstanding the hard opinions Judge Douglas chooses to entertain of me. 5

The Judge has again addressed himself to the Abolition tendencies of a speech of mine made at Springfield in June last. I have so often tried to answer what he is always saying on that melancholy theme that I almost turn with disgust from the discussion,—from the repetition of an answer to it. I trust that nearly all of this intelligent audience have read that speech. If you have, I may venture to leave it to you to inspect it closely, and see whether it contains any of those “bugaboos” which frighten Judge Douglas. 10 15

The Judge complains that I did not fully answer his questions. If I have the sense to comprehend and answer those questions, I have done so fairly. If it can be pointed out to me how I can more fully and fairly answer him, I aver I have not the sense to see 20 how it is to be done. He says, I do not declare I would in any event vote for the admission of a Slave State into the Union. If I have been fairly reported, he will see that I did give an explicit answer to his interrogatories; I did not merely say that I would 25 dislike to be put to the test, but I said clearly, if I were put to the test, and a Territory from which slavery had been excluded should present herself with a State Constitution sanctioning slavery,—a most extraordinary thing, and wholly unlikely to happen,— 30 I did not see how I could avoid voting for her admission. But he refuses to understand that I said so, and he wants this audience to understand that I did not say

so. Yet it will be so reported in the printed speech that he cannot help seeing it.

He says if I should vote for the admission of a Slave State I would be voting for a dissolution of the Union, because I hold that the Union cannot permanently exist half slave and half free. I repeat that I do not believe this government *can* endure permanently half slave and half free; yet I do not admit, nor does it at all follow, that the admission of a single Slave State will permanently fix the character and establish this as a universal slave nation. The Judge is very happy indeed at working up these quibbles. Before leaving the subject of answering questions, I aver as my confident belief, when you come to see our speeches in print, that you will find every question which he has asked me more fairly and boldly and fully answered than he has answered those which I put to him. Is not that so? The two speeches may be placed side by side, and I will venture to leave it to impartial judges whether his questions have not been more directly and circumstantially answered than mine.

Judge Douglas says he made a charge upon the editor of the Washington "Union," *alone*, of entertaining a purpose to rob the States of their power to exclude slavery from their limits. I undertake to say, and I make the direct issue, that he did *not* make his charge against the editor of the "Union" alone. I will undertake to prove by the record here that he made that charge against more and higher dignitaries than the editor of the Washington "Union." I am quite aware that he was shirking and dodging around the form in which he put it, but I can make it manifest that he leveled his "fatal blow" against more persons than this Washington editor. Will he dodge it now

by alleging that I am trying to defend Mr. Buchanan against the charge? Not at all. Am I not making the same charge myself? I am trying to show that you, Judge Douglass, are a witness on my side. I am not defending Buchanan, and I will tell Judge Douglas 5 that in my opinion, when he made that charge, he had an eye farther north than he was to-day. He was then fighting against people who called *him* a Black Republican and an Abolitionist. It is mixed all through his speech, and it is tolerably manifest that his eye was a 10 great deal farther north than it is to-day. The Judge says that though he made this charge, Toombs got up and declared there was not a man in the United States, except the editor of the "Union," who was in favor of the doctrines put forth in that article. And there- 15 upon I understand that the Judge withdrew the charge. Although he had taken extracts from the newspaper, and then from the Lecompton Constitution, to show the existence of a conspiracy to bring about a "fatal blow," by which the States were to be deprived of the 20 right of excluding slavery, it all went to pot as soon as Toombs got up and told him it was not true. It reminds me of the story that John Phoenix, the California railroad surveyor tells. He says they started out from the Plaza to the Mission of Dolores. They 25 had two ways of determining distances. One was by a chain and pins taken over the ground. The other was by a "go-it-ometer,"—an invention of his own,—a three-legged instrument, with which he computed a series of triangles between the points. At night he 30 turned to the chain-man to ascertain what distance they had come, and found that by some mistake he had merely dragged the chain over the ground without keeping any record. By the "go-it-ometer" he found

he had made ten miles. Being skeptical about this, he asked a drayman who was passing how far it was to the Plaza. The drayman replied it was just half a mile; and the surveyor put it down in his book,—just  
5 as Judge Douglas says, after he had made his calculations and computations, he took Toombs's statement. I have no doubt that after Judge Douglas had made his charge, he was as easily satisfied about its truth as the surveyor was of the drayman's statement of the  
10 distance to the Plaza. Yet it is a fact that the man who put forth all that matter which Douglas deemed a "fatal blow" at State sovereignty, was elected by the Democrats as public printer.

Now, gentlemen, you may take Judge Douglas's speech  
15 of March 22, 1858, beginning about the middle of page 21, and reading to the bottom of page 24, and you will find the evidence on which I say that he did not make his charge against the editor of the "Union" alone. I cannot stop to read it, but I will give it to  
20 the reporters. Judge Douglas said:

"Mr. President, you here find several distinct propositions advanced boldly by the Washington 'Union' editorially, and apparently *authoritatively*, and every man who questions any of them is denounced as an Abolitionist, a Free-soiler, a fanatic. The propositions are,  
25 first, that the primary object of all government at its original institution is the protection of persons and property; second, that the Constitution of the United States declares that the citizens of each State shall be  
30 entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States; and that, therefore, thirdly, all State laws, whether organic or otherwise, which prohibit the citizens of one State from settling in another with their slave property, and especially declaring it for-

feited, are direct violations of the original intention of the Government and Constitution of the United States; and, fourth, that the emancipation of the slaves of the Northern States was a gross outrage on the rights of property, inasmuch as it was involuntarily done on the part of the owner.

"Remember that this article was published in the 'Union' on the 17th of November, and on the 18th appeared the first article, giving the adhesion of the 'Union' to the Lecompton Constitution. It was in these words:

"'KANSAS AND HER CONSTITUTION.—The vexed question is settled. The problem is solved. The dead point of danger is passed. All serious trouble to Kansas affairs is over and gone—'

15

"And a column, nearly, of the same sort. Then, when you come to look into the Lecompton Constitution, you find the same doctrine incorporated in it which was put forth editorially in the 'Union.' What is it?

20

"'ARTICLE 7, *Section 1*. The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction; and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave and its increase is the same and as invariable as the right of the owner of any property whatever.'

25

"Then in the schedule is a provision that the Constitution may be amended after 1864 by a two-thirds vote.

"'But no alteration shall be made to affect the right of property in the ownership of slaves.'

30

"It will be seen by these clauses in the Lecompton Constitution that they are identical in spirit with this *authoritative* article in the Washington 'Union' of the day previous to its endorsement of this Constitution.

“When I saw that article in the ‘Union’ of the 17th of November, followed by the glorification of the Lecompton Constitution on the 18th of November, and this clause in the Constitution asserting the doctrine  
5 that a State has no right to prohibit slavery within its limits, I saw that there was a *fatal blow* being struck at the sovereignty of the States of this Union.”

Here he says, “Mr. President, you here find several distinct propositions advanced boldly, and apparently  
10 *authoritatively*.” By whose authority, Judge Douglas? Again, he says in another place, “It will be seen by these clauses in the Lecompton Constitution that they are identical in spirit with this *authoritative* article.” *By whose authority?* Who do you mean to say author-  
15 ized the publication of these articles? He knows that the Washington “Union” is considered the organ of the Administration. I demand of Judge Douglas *by whose authority* he meant to say those articles were published, if not by the authority of the President of  
20 the United States and his Cabinet? I defy him to show whom he referred to, if not to these high functionaries in the Federal Government. More than this, he says the articles in that paper and the provisions of the Lecompton Constitution are “identical,” and,  
25 being identical, he argues that the authors are co-operating and conspiring together. He does not use the word “conspiring,” but what other construction can you put upon it? He winds up with this:

“When I saw that article in the ‘Union’ of the 17th  
30 of November, followed by the glorification of the Lecompton Constitution on the 18th of November, and this clause in the Constitution asserting the doctrine that a State has no right to prohibit slavery within its

limits, I saw that there was a *fatal blow* being struck at the sovereignty of the States of the Union."

I ask him if all this fuss was made over the editor of this newspaper. It would be a terribly "*fatal blow*" indeed which a single man could strike, when no President, no Cabinet officer, no member of Congress, was giving strength and efficiency to the moment. Out of respect to Judge Douglas's good sense I must believe he didn't manufacture his idea of the "fatal" character of that blow out of such a miserable scapegrace as he represents that editor to be. But the Judge's eye is farther south now. Then, it was very peculiarly and decidedly north. His hope rested on the idea of visiting the great "Black Republican" party, and making it the tail of his new kite. He knows he was then expecting from day to day to turn Republican, and place himself at the head of our organization. He has found that these despised "Black Republicans" estimate him by a standard which he has taught them none too well. Hence he is crawling back into his old camp, and you will find him eventually installed in full fellowship among those whom he was then battling, and with whom he now pretends to be at such fearful variance. [Loud applause, and cries of "Go on, go on."] I cannot, gentlemen; my time has expired." 25



## SECESSION

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS

Georgia State Convention, January, 1861

MR. PRESIDENT—This step of secession, once taken, can never be recalled; and all the baleful and withering consequences that must follow, will rest on the convention for all coming time. When we and our posterity  
5 shall see our lovely South desolated by the demon of war, which this act of yours will inevitably invite and call forth; when our green fields of waving harvest shall be trodden down by the murderous soldiery and  
fiery car of war sweeping over our land; our temples  
10 of justice laid in ashes; all the horrors and desolation of war upon us; who but this Convention will be held responsible for it? And who but him who shall have given his vote for this unwise and ill-timed measure, as I honestly think and believe, shall be held to strict  
15 account for this suicidal act by the present generation, and probably cursed and execrated by posterity for all coming time, for the wide and desolating ruin that will inevitably follow this act you now propose to perpetrate? Pause, I entreat you, and consider for a moment what  
20 reasons you can give, that will even satisfy yourselves in calmer moments—what reason you can give to your fellow-sufferers in the calamity that it will bring upon us. What reasons can you give to the nations of the earth to justify it? They will be the calm and  
25 deliberate judges in the case; and what cause or one overt act can you name or point, on which to rest the

plea of justification? What right has the North assailed? What interest of the South has been invaded? What justice has been denied? And what claim founded in justice and right has been withheld? Can either of you to-day name one governmental act of wrong, 5 deliberately and purposely done by the government of Washington, of which the South has a right to complain? I challenge the answer. While, on the other hand, let me show the facts, of which I wish you to judge, and I will only state facts which are clear and 10 undeniable, and which now stand as records authentic in the history of our country. When we of the South demanded the slave-trade, or the importation of Africans for the cultivation of our lands, did they not yield the right for twenty years? When we asked a 15 three-fifths representation in Congress for our slaves, was it not granted? When we asked and demanded the return of any fugitive from justice, or the recovery of those persons owing labor or allegiance, was it not incorporated in the Constitution, and again ratified and 20 strengthened by the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850? But do you reply that in many instances they have violated this compact, and have not been faithful to their engagements? As individual and local communities, they may have done so; but not by the sanction of govern- 25 ment; for that has always been true to Southern interests. Again, gentlemen, look at another act; when we have asked that more territory should be added, that we might spread the institution of slavery, have they not yielded to our demands in giving us Louisiana, 30 Florida, and Texas? From these, four States have been carved, and ample territory for four more is to be added in due time, if you, by this unwise and im-

politic act, do not destroy this hope, and, perhaps, by it lose all, and have your last slave wrenched from you by stern military rule, as South America and Mexico were; or by the vindictive decree of a universal  
5 emancipation which may reasonably be expected to follow.

But, again, gentlemen, what have we to gain by this proposed change of our relation to the general government? We have always had the control of it, and can  
10 yet, if we remain in it, and are as united as we have been. We have had a majority of the Presidents chosen from the South, as well as the control and management of most of those chosen from the North. We have had sixty years of Southern Presidents to their twenty-four,  
15 thus controlling the executive department. So of the judges of the Supreme Court, we have had eighteen from the South and but eleven from the North; although nearly four-fifths of the judicial business has arisen in the free states, yet a majority of the Court  
20 has always been from the South. This we have required so as to guard against any interpretation of the Constitution unfavorable to us. In like manner we have been equally watchful to guard our interests in the legislative branch of government. In choosing the  
25 presidents of the Senate, we have had twenty-four to their eleven. Speakers of the House we have twenty-three, and they twelve. While the majority of the representatives, from their greater population, have always been from the North, yet we have generally  
30 secured the Speaker, because he, to a great extent, shapes and controls the legislation of the country. Nor have we had less control in every other department of the general government. Attorney-generals we have

had fourteen, while the North have had but five. Foreign ministers we have had eighty-six and they but fifty-four. While three-fourths of the business which demands diplomatic agents abroad is clearly from the free  
5 states, from their greater commercial interest, yet we have had the principal embassies, so as to secure the world-markets for our cotton, tobacco, and sugar on the best possible terms. We have had a vast majority of the higher offices of both army and navy, while a larger  
10 proportion of the soldiers and sailors were drawn from the North. Again, from official documents, we learn that a fraction over three-fourths of the revenue collected for the support of the government has uniformly been raised from the North.

15 Leaving out of view, for the present, the countless millions of dollars you must expend in a war with the North; with tens of thousands of your sons and brothers slain in battle, and offered up as sacrifices upon the altar of your ambition—and for what, we ask again?  
20 Is it for the overthrow of the American government, established by our common ancestry, cemented and built up by their sweat and blood, and founded on the broad principles of right, justice, and humanity? And as such, I must declare here, as I have often done before,  
25 and which has been repeated by the greatest and wisest of statesmen and patriots, in this and other lands, that it is the best and freest government—the most equal in its rights, the most just in its decisions, the most lenient in its measures, and the most aspiring in its  
30 principles, to elevate the race of men, that the sun of heaven ever shone upon. Now, for you to attempt to overthrow such a government as this, under which we have lived for more than three-quarters of a century—in which we have gained our wealth, our standing as

a nation, our domestic safety, while the elements of peril are around us, with peace and tranquillity accompanied with unbounded prosperity and rights unassailed—is the height of madness, folly, and wickedness, to which  
5 I neither lend my sanction nor my vote.

## AT INDEPENDENCE HALL

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Philadelphia, Feb. 21, 1861

I am filled with deep emotion at finding myself standing here in this place, where were collected together the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to principle from which sprang the institutions under which we live. You have kindly suggested to me that in my hands is the task of restoring peace to the present distracted condition of the country. I can say in return, sir, that all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated in and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. I have often pondered over the dangers which were incurred by the men who assembled here, and framed and adopted that Declaration of Independence. I have pondered over the toils that were endured by the officers and soldiers of the army who achieved that independence. I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the mother-land, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but, I hope, to the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the

weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men. This is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved upon that basis? If it can, I will consider myself  
5 one of the happiest of men in the world if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than  
10 surrender it. Now, in my view of the present aspect of affairs, there need be no bloodshed or war. There is no necessity for it. I am not in favor of such a course; and I may say in advance that there will be no bloodshed unless it be forced upon the government, and then  
15 it will be compelled to act in self-defense.

My friends, this is wholly an unexpected speech, and I did not expect to be called upon to say a word when I came here. I supposed it was merely to do something towards raising the flag—I may, therefore, have said  
20 something indiscreet. I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, die by.

## FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS .

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

March 4, 1861

FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES—In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President 5  
“before he enters on the execution of his office.”

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist, among the people of the 10  
Southern States, that by the accession of a republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all 15  
the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that “I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution 20  
of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.” Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And 25  
more than this, they placed in the platform for my ac-



ceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:—

“*Resolved*—That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each  
5 state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to the balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil  
10 of any state or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.”

I now reiterate these sentiments; and, in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that  
15 the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the states, when  
20 lawfully demanded, for whatever cause—as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any  
25 other of its provisions:—

“No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be  
discharged from such service or labor, but shall be  
30 delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.”

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the law-

giver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves, whose cases come within the terms of this clause, “shall be delivered up,” their oaths are unanimous. 5 Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause 10 should be enforced by national or by state authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him, or to others, by which authority it is done. And should any one, in any case, be content 15 that his oath shall go unkept, on a mere unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

Again, in any law upon the subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and human jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be 20 not, in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well, at the same time, to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that “the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens 25 in the several states?”

I shall take the official oath to-day with no mental reservation, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rule. And while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Con- 30 gress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting

to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a president under our national constitution. During  
5 that period, fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have, in succession, administered the executive branch of the government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter  
10 upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted.

I hold that, in contemplation of universal law, and  
15 of the Constitution, the union of these states is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination.  
20 Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national government, and the Union will endure forever—it being impossible to destroy it, except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a government  
25 proper, but an association of states in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

30 Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that, in legal contemplation, the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed in fact, by the articles of association in

1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen states expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the articles of confederation in 1778. And, finally, in 1787, <sup>5</sup> one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was "to form a more perfect Union."

But if destruction of the Union, by one, or by a part only, of the states, be lawfully possible, the Union is <sup>10</sup> less perfect than before, the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows, from these views, that no state upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally <sup>15</sup> void; and that acts of violence within any state or states, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary, or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I, therefore, consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and to the <sup>20</sup> extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it, so far as practicable, unless my right- <sup>25</sup> ful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or, in some authoritative manner, direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself. <sup>30</sup>

In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places

belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be but necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where  
5 hostility to the United States in any interior locality shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right  
10 may exist in the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, I deem it better to forego, for the time, the uses of such offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the  
15 people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification  
20 or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised, according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

25 That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not  
30 speak?

Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so des-

perate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from—will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? 5

All profess to be content in the Union, if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of 10 doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point 15 of view, justify revolution—certainly would if such a right were a vital one. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmation and negations, guarantees and prohibitions in the Constitution, that 20 controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express pro- 25 visions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by state authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. May Congress prohibit slavery in the territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery 30 in the territories? The Constitution does not expressly say.

From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into ma-

majorities and minorities. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the government must cease. There is no other alternative; for continuing the government is acquiescence on one side or the other.

5 If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which, in turn, will divide and ruin them; for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority. For instance, why may  
10 not any portion of a new confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this.

15 Is there such perfect identity of interests among the states to compose a new Union, as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession?

Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional  
20 checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minor-  
25 ity, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism, in some form, is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some, that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Su-  
30 preme Court; nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding, in any case, upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases, by all other departments of the government. And while

it is obviously possible that such decisions may be erroneous in any given case, still, the evil effect following it being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled, and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.

Nor is there in this view any assault upon the Court or the Judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes. One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured; and it would be worse, in both cases, after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave-trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction, in one section; while fugitive slaves, now only



partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor  
5 build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or  
10 hostile, must continue between them. It is impossible then to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before. Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens  
15 than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you.

20 This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignor-  
25 ant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either  
30 of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself, and I should, under existing circumstances, favor, rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add, that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amend-

ments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others, not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a 5 proposed amendment to the Constitution—which amendment, however, I have not seen—has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the states, including that of persons held to service. To avoid mis- 10 construction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision now to be implied constitutional law, I have no objections to its being made express and irrevocable. 15

The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the states. The people themselves can do this also if they choose; but the executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to 20 administer the represent government as it came to his hands, and to transmit it, unimpaired by him, to his successor.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or 25 equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely 30 prevail, by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people.

By the frame of the government under which we live, the same people have wisely given their public servants

but little power for mischief and have with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any  
5 extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of  
10 you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws  
15 of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. In-  
20 telligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulty.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen,  
25 and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you.

You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend" it.  
30

I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.

The mystic chord of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

## LETTER TO HORACE GREELEY

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

EXECUTIVE MANSION.

Washington, August 22, 1862.

*Hon. Horace Greeley:*

DEAR SIR:—I have just read yours of the 19th, addressed to myself through the New York *Tribune*. If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not, now and here, controvert them. If there be in it any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not, now and here, argue against them. If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

As to the policy I “seem to be pursuing,” as you say, I have not meant to leave anyone in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be the “Union as it was.” If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and it is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing

some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe that doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modifications of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

Yours,

A. LINCOLN.

## SPEECH AT GETTYSBURG

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

November 19, 1863

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil  
5 war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation  
10 might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or  
15 detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us  
20 to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation,  
25 under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

## SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

March 4, 1865

Fellow-Countrymen—At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed very fitting and proper. Now, at 5 the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. 10

The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured. 15

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avoid it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without 20 war, insurgent agents were in the city, seeking to destroy it with war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war 25 rather than let it perish, and the war came. One-eighth



of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease, even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding.

Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayer of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. Woe unto the world because of offences, for it must needs be that offences come, but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh. If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of these offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern there any departure from those Divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this

mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so, still it must be said, that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.

With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, 10 let us finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations. 15

## LAST PUBLIC ADDRESS

BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Washington, April 11, 1865.

We meet this evening not in sorrow, but in gladness of heart. The evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond, and the surrender of the principal insurgent army, give hope of a righteous and speedy peace, whose joyous expression cannot be restrained. In the midst of this, however, He from whom all blessings flow must not be forgotten. A call for a national thanksgiving is being prepared, and will be duly promulgated. Nor must those whose harder part, gives us the cause of rejoicing  
10 be overlooked. Their honors must not be parceled out with others. I myself was near the front, and had the high pleasure of transmitting much of the good news to you; but no part of the honor for plan or execution is mine. To General Grant, his skilful officers and  
15 brave men, all belongs. The gallant navy stood ready, but was not in reach to take active part.

By these recent successes the reinauguration of the national authority—reconstruction—which has had a large share of thought from the first, is pressed much  
20 more closely upon our attention. It is fraught with great difficulty. Unlike a case of war between independent nations, there is no authorized organ for us to treat with—no one man has authority to give up the rebellion for any other man. We simply must begin  
25 with and mold from disorganized and discordant elements. Nor is it a small additional embarrassment that we, the loyal people, differ among ourselves as to

the mode, manner and measure of reconstruction. As a general rule, I abstain from reading the reports of attacks upon myself, wishing not to be provoked by that to which I cannot properly offer an answer. In spite of this precaution, however, it comes to my knowledge that 5 I am much censured for some supposed agency in setting up and seeking to sustain the new State government of Louisiana.

In this I have done just so much as, and no more than, the public knows. In the annual message of December, 10 1863, and in the accompanying proclamation, I presented a plan of reconstruction, as the phrase goes, which I promised, if adopted by any State, should be acceptable to and sustained by the executive government of the nation. I distinctly stated that this was not the only 15 plan which might possibly be acceptable, and I also distinctly protested that the executive claimed no right to say when or whether members should be admitted to seats in Congress from such States. This plan was in advance submitted to the then Cabinet, and distinctly 20 approved by every member of it. One of them suggested that I should then and in that connection apply the Emancipation Proclamation to the theretofore excepted parts of Virginia and Louisiana; that I should drop the suggestion about apprenticeship for freed people, and 25 that I should omit the protest against my own power in regard to the admission of members to Congress. But even he approved every part and parcel of the plan which has since been employed or touched by the action of Louisiana. 30

The new constitution of Louisiana, declaring emancipation for the whole State, practically applies the proclamation to the part previously excepted. It does not adopt apprenticeship for freed people, and it is silent,

as it could not well be otherwise, about the admission of members to Congress. So that, as it applies to Louisiana, every member of the Cabinet fully approved the plan. The message went to Congress, and I received  
5 many commendations of the plan, written and verbal, and not a single objection to it from any professed emancipationist came to my knowledge until after the news reached Washington that the people of Louisiana had begun to move in accordance with it. From about July,  
10 1862, I had corresponded with different persons supposed to be interested [in] seeking a reconstruction of a State government for Louisiana. When the message of 1863, with the plan before mentioned, reached New Orleans, General Banks wrote me that he was confident  
15 that the people, with his military coöperation, would reconstruct substantially on that plan. I wrote to him and some of them to try it. They tried it, and the result is known. Such has been my only agency in getting up the Louisiana government.

20 As to sustaining it, my promise is out, as before stated. But as bad promises are better broken than kept, I shall treat this as a bad promise, and break it whenever I shall be convinced that keeping it is adverse to the public interest; but I have not yet been so convinced. I have  
25 been shown a letter on this subject, supposed to be an able one, in which the writer expresses regret that my mind has not seemed to be definitely fixed on the question whether the seceded States, so called, are in the Union or out of it. It would perhaps add astonishment  
30 to his regret were he to learn that since I have found professed Union men endeavoring to make that question, I have purposely forborne any public expression upon it. As appears to me, that question has not been, nor yet is, a practically material one, and that any discussion of it,

while it thus remains practically immaterial, could have no effect other than the mischievous one of dividing our friends. As yet, whatever it may hereafter become, that question is bad as the basis of a controversy, and good for nothing at all—a merely pernicious abstraction. 5

We all agree that the seceded States, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the government, civil and military, in regard to those States is to again get them into that proper practical relation. I believe that it is not 10 only possible, but in fact easier, to do this without deciding or even considering whether these States have ever been out of the Union, than with it. Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had ever been abroad. Let us all join in doing the 15 acts necessary to restoring the proper practical relations between these States and the Union, and each forever after innocently indulge his own opinion whether in doing the acts he brought the States from without into the Union, or only gave them proper assistance, they 20 never having been out of it. The amount of constituency, so to speak, on which the new Louisiana government rests, would be more satisfactory to all if it contained 50,000, or 30,000, or even 20,000, instead of only about 12,000, as it does. It is also unsatisfactory 25 to some that the elective franchise is not given to the colored man. I would myself prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent, and on those who serve our cause as soldiers.

Still, the question is not whether the Louisiana gov- 30 ernment, as it stands, is quite all that is desirable. The question is, will it be wiser to take it as it is and help to improve it, or to reject and disperse it? Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relation with the

Union sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new State government? Some twelve thousand voters in the heretofore slave State of Louisiana have sworn allegiance to the Union, assumed to be the rightful political power  
5 of the State, held elections, organized a State government, adopted a free State constitution, giving the benefit of public schools equally to black and white, and empowering the legislature to confer the elective franchise upon the colored man. Their legislature has already  
10 voted to ratify the constitutional amendment recently passed by Congress, abolishing slavery throughout the nation. These 12,000 persons are thus fully committed to the Union and to perpetual freedom in the State—committed to the very things, and nearly all the things,  
15 the nation wants—and they ask the nation's recognition and its assistance to make good their committal.

Now, if we reject and spurn them, we do our utmost to disorganize and disperse them. We, in effect, say to the white man: You are worthless or worse; we will  
20 neither help you, nor be helped by you. To the blacks we say: This cup of liberty which these, your old masters, hold to your lips we will dash from you, and leave you to the chances of gathering the spilled and scattered contents in some vague and undefined when, where, and  
25 how. If this course, discouraging and paralyzing both white and black, has any tendency to bring Louisiana into proper practical relations with the Union, I have so far been unable to perceive it. If, on the contrary, we recognize and sustain the new government of Louis-  
30 iana, the converse of all this is made true. We encourage the hearts and nerve the arms of the 12,000 to adhere to their work, and argue for it, and proselyte for it, and fight for it, and feed it, and grow it, and ripen it to a complete success. The colored man, too, in seeing

all united for him, is inspired with vigilance, and energy, and daring, to the same end. Grant that he desires the elective franchise, will he not attain it sooner by saving the already advanced steps toward it than by running backward over them? Concede that the new govern- 5 ment of Louisiana is only to what it should be as the egg is to the fowl, we shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it.

Again, if we reject Louisiana we also reject one vote in favor of the proposed amendment to the national Con- 10 stitution. To meet this proposition it has been argued that no more than three-fourths of those States which have not attempted secession are necessary to validly ratify the amendment. I do not commit myself against this further than to say that such a ratification would 15 be questionable, and sure to be persistently questioned, while a ratification by three-fourths of all the States would be unquestioned and unquestionable. I repeat the question: Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relation with the Union sooner by sustaining or 20 by discarding her new State government? What has been said of Louisiana will apply generally to other States. And yet so great peculiarities pertain to each State, and such important and sudden changes occur in the same State, and withal so new and unprecedented 25 is the whole case that no exclusive and inflexible plan can safely be prescribed as to details and collaterals. Such exclusive and inflexible plan would surely become a new entanglement. Important principles may and must be inflexible. In the present situation, as the 30 phrase goes, it may be my duty to make some new announcement to the people of the South. I am considering, and shall not fail to act when satisfied that action will be proper.



## ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

*From "THE SPECTATOR," LONDON, APRIL 25, AND  
MAY 2, 1891*

\* \* \* \* \*

THE English-speaking world will never read the story of the Rebellion without a thrill of pride and exultation. Heroic and inspiring as was the achievement of the Puritans in throwing off the tyranny of the Stuarts, and establishing in its place, not license or anarchy, but a wise and liberal polity, the veiling hand of time diminishes for modern men its distinctness and reality. With the defense of the Union it is different. We can almost hear the reverberations of the cannon at Vicksburg, and our hands may still clasp the hands of those who fought for the life of the Nation at Gettysburg and Chattanooga. The glory won by the English race is so near, that it still stirs the blood like a trumpet to read of the patriotism of the men who fought at the call of Lincoln. Nothing is more admirable, as nothing is more dramatic in recorded history, than the manner in which the North sprang to arms at the news that the nation's flag had been fired on at Fort Sumter. It is all very well to hire soldiers at so much a day and send them to the front with salutes and rejoicings, but the action of the Eastern and Western States meant a great deal more than this. It meant a voluntary sacrifice on the part of men who had nothing to gain and everything to lose by throwing over a life of ease or profit to shoulder a musket or serve a gun. A continent was on fire.

It is one of the greatest of Lincoln's claims to admiration, that though he sympathized with the fervor and enthusiasm of his countrymen, he was not carried away by it. He was one of those rare men who can at once be zealous and moderate, who are kindled by great ideas, and who yet retain complete control of the critical faculty. And more than this, Lincoln was a man who could be reserved without the chill of reserve. Again, he could make allowance for demerits in a principle or a human instrument, without ever falling into the purblindness of cynicism. He often acted in his dealings with men much as a professed cynic might have acted; but his conduct was due, not to any disbelief in virtue, but to a wide tolerance and a clear knowledge of human nature. He saw things as a disillusionised man sees them, and yet in the bad sense he never suffered any disillusionment. For suffusing and combining his other qualities was a serenity of mind which affected the whole man. He viewed the world too much as a whole to be greatly troubled or perplexed over its accidents. To this serenity of mind was due an almost total absence of indignation in the ordinary sense. Generals might half-ruin the cause for the sake of some trumperry quarrel, or in order to gain some petty personal advantage; office-seekers might worry at the very crisis of the nation's fate; but none of the pettiness, the spites, or the follies could rouse in Lincoln the impatience or the indignation that would have been awakened in ordinary men. Pity, and nothing else, was the feeling such exhibitions occasioned him. Lincoln seems to have felt the excuse that tempers the guilt of every mortal transgression. His largeness and tenderness of nature made him at heart a universal apologist. He was, of course, too practical and too great a statesman to let this sensibility

to the excuses that can be made for human conduct induce him to allow misdeeds to go unpunished or uncorrected. He acted as firmly and as severely as if he had experienced the most burning indignation; but the  
5 moment we come to Lincoln's real feelings, we see that he is never incensed, and that, even in its most legitimate form, the desire for retribution is absent from his mind. *Tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner*, was the secret of his attitude towards human affairs. That is not the  
10 highest wisdom; but it errs on the right, and also on the rare, side.

So much for the intellectual side of Lincoln's nature. Behind it was a personality of singular charm. Tenderness and humor were its main characteristics. As he  
15 rode through a forest in spring-time, he would keep on dismounting to put back the young birds that had fallen from their nests. There was not a situation in life which could not afford him the subject for a kindly smile. It needed a character so full of gentleness and  
20 good temper to sustain the intolerable weight of responsibility which the war threw upon the shoulders of the President. Most men would have been crushed by the burden. His serenity of temper saved Lincoln. Except when the miserable necessity of having to sign  
25 the order for a military execution took away his sleep, he carried on his work without any visible sign of overstrain. Not the least of Lincoln's achievements is to be found in the fact that though for four years he wielded a power and a personal authority greater than  
30 that exercised by any monarch on earth, he never gave satirist or caricaturist the slightest real ground for declaring that his sudden rise to world-wide fame had turned the head of the backwoodsman. Under the circumstances, there would have been every excuse for

Lincoln, had he assumed to his subordinates somewhat the bearing of the autocrat he was. It is a sign of the absolute sincerity and good sense of the President that he was under no sort of a temptation to do so. Lincoln was before all things a gentleman, and the good 5 taste inseparable from that character made it impossible for him to be spoiled by power and position. This grace and strength of character is never better shown than in the letters to his generals, victorious or defeated. When they were beaten, he was anxious to share 10 the blame; when victorious, he was instant to deny by anticipation any rumor that he had inspired the strategy of the campaign. If a general had to be reprimanded, he did it as only the most perfect of gentlemen could do it. He could convey the severest censure without in- 15 flicting any wound that would not heal, and this not by using roundabout expressions, but in the plainest language. "He writes to me like a father," were the heart-felt words of a commander who had been reproved by the President. Throughout these communications, 20 the manner in which he not only conceals, but altogether sinks, all sense that the men to whom they were addressed were, in effect, his subordinates, is worthy of special note. "A breath could make them, as a breath had made," and yet Lincoln writes as if 25 his generals were absolutely independent.

We have said something of Lincoln as a man and as the leader of a great cause. We desire now to dwell upon a point which is often neglected in considering the career of the hero of the Union, but which, from the 30 point of view of letters, is of absorbing interest. No criticism of Mr. Lincoln can be in any sense adequate which does not deal with his astonishing power over words. It is not too much to say of him that he is

among the greatest masters of prose ever produced by the English race. Self-educated, or rather not educated at all in the ordinary sense, as he was, he contrived to obtain an insight and power in the handling of the  
5 mechanism of letters such as has been given to few men of his, or, indeed, in any age. That the gift of oratory should be a natural gift, is understandable enough, for the methods of the orator, like those of the poet, are primarily sensuous, and may well be instinctive. Mr.  
10 Lincoln's achievement seems to show that no less is the writing of prose an endowment of Nature. Mr. Lincoln did not get his ability to handle prose through his gift of speech. That these are separate, though co-ordinate, faculties, is a matter beyond dispute, for many  
15 of the great orators of the world have proved themselves exceedingly inefficient in the matter of deliberate composition. Mr. Lincoln enjoyed both gifts. His letters, dispatches, memoranda, and written addresses are even better than his speeches; and in speaking thus of  
20 Mr. Lincoln's prose, we are not thinking merely of certain pieces of inspired rhetoric. We do not praise his work because, like Mr. Bright, he could exercise his power of coining illuminating phrases as effectively upon paper as on the platform. It is in his conduct of  
25 the pedestrian portions of composition that Mr. Lincoln's genius for prose style is exhibited. Mr. Bright's writing cannot claim to answer the description which Hazlitt has given of the successful prose-writer's performance. Mr. Lincoln's can. What Hazlitt says is  
30 complete and perfect in definition. He tells us that the prose-writer so uses his pen "that he loses no particle of the exact characteristic extreme impression of the thing he writes about;" and with equal significance he points out that "the prose-writer is master of his ma-

terials," as "the poet is the slave of his style." If these words convey a true definition, then Mr. Lincoln is a master of prose. Whatever the subject he has in hand, whether it be bald or impassioned, business-like or pathetic, we feel that we "lose no particle of the 5 exact characteristic extreme impression" of the thing written about. We have it all, and not merely a part. Every line shows that the writer is master of his materials; that he guides the words, never the words him. This is, indeed, the predominant note throughout all 10 Mr. Lincoln's work. We feel that he is like the engineer who controls some mighty reservoir. As he desires, he opens the various sluice-gates, but for no instant is the water not under his entire control. We are sensible in reading Mr. Lincoln's writings, that an 15 immense force is gathered up behind him, and that in each jet that flows, every drop is meant. Some writers only leak; others half flow through determined channels, half leak away their words like a broken lock when it is emptying. The greatest, like Mr. Lincoln, 20 send out none but clear-shaped streams.

The "Second Inaugural"—a written composition, though read to the citizens from the steps of the Capitol—well illustrates our words. Mr. Lincoln had to tell his countrymen, that, after four years' struggle, the war 25 was practically ended. The four years' agony, the passion of love which he felt for his country, his joy in her salvation, his sense of tenderness for those who fell, of pity mixed with sternness for the men who had deluged the land with blood,—all the thoughts these 30 feelings inspired were behind Lincoln pressing for expression. A writer of less power would have been overwhelmed. Lincoln remained master of the emotional and intellectual situation. In three or four hundred

words that burn with the heat of their compression, he tells the history of the war and reads its lesson. No nobler thoughts were ever conceived. No man ever found words more adequate to his desire. Here is the  
5 whole tale of the nation's shame and misery, of her heroic struggles to free herself therefrom, and of her victory. Had Lincoln written a hundred times as much more, he could not have said more fully what he desired to say. Every thought receives its complete expression  
10 and there is no word employed which does not directly and manifestly contribute to the development of the central thought.

As an example of Lincoln's more familiar style, we may quote from that inimitable series of letters to his  
15 generals to which we made allusion on a former occasion. The following letter was addressed to General Hooker on his being appointed to command the Army of the Potomac, after mismanagement and failure had made a change of generals absolutely necessary:—

20 "I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon what appears to me to be sufficient reasons, and yet I think it best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skilful soldier,  
25 which, of course, I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable, if not an indispensable, quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm; but I think that, during General  
30 Burnside's command of the army, you have taken counsel of your ambition, and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honorable brother-officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both  
35 the army and the Government needed a dictator. Of course, it

was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The Government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than 5 it has done and will do for all commanders. I much fear that the spirit, which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticising their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you as far as I can to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were 10 alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it. And now beware of rashness. Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories.”

It is possible that this letter may sound too severe in 15 tone when read without the context. If, however, the condition of the army at the time, and the intrigues of the various commanders are considered, it will be recognized as erring in no way on the side of harshness. The irony is particularly delightful, and in no 20 sense forced. . . .



## THE SCHOLAR IN A REPUBLIC

WENDELL PHILLIPS

Phi Beta Kappa Centennial, Harvard, June 30, 1881

Mr. President and Brothers of the P. B. K.—A hundred years ago our society was planted,—a slip from the older root in Virginia. The parent seed, tradition says, was French,—part of that conspiracy for free speech  
5 whose leaders prated democracy in the *salons*, while they  
• carefully held on to the flesh-pots of society by crouching low to kings and their mistresses, and whose final object of assault was Christianity itself. Voltaire gave the watchword,—

10

“Crush the wretch.”

“*Écrasez l’infame.*”

No matter how much or how little truth there may be in the tradition; no matter what was the origin or what was the object of our society, if it had any special one,—  
15 both are long since forgotten. We stand now simply a representative of free, brave, American scholarship. I emphasize *American* scholarship.

In one of those glowing, and as yet unequalled pictures which Everett drew for us, here and elsewhere, of  
20 Revolutionary scenes, I remember his saying, that the independence we then won, if taken in its literal and narrow sense, was of no interest and little value; but, construed in the fulness of its real meaning, it bound us to a distinctive American character and purpose, to a  
25 keen sense of large responsibility, and to a generous self-

devotion. It is under the shadow of such unquestioned authority that I use the term "American scholarship."

Our society was, no doubt, to some extent, a protest against the sombre theology of New England, where, a hundred years ago, the atmosphere was black with sermons, and where religious speculation beat uselessly against the narrowest limits.

The first generation of Puritans—though Lowell does let Cromwell call them "a small colony of pinched fanatics"—included some men, indeed not a few, worthy to walk close to Roger Williams and Sir Harry Vane,—the two men deepest in thought and bravest in speech of all who spoke English in their day, and equal to any in practical statesmanship. Sir Harry Vane, in my judgment the noblest human being who ever walked the streets of yonder city,—I do not forget Franklin or Sam Adams, Washington or Fayette, Garrison or John Brown,—but Vane dwells an arrow's flight above them all, and his touch consecrated the continent to measureless toleration of opinion and entire equality of rights. We are told we can find in Plato "all the intellectual life of Europe for two thousand years;" so you can find in Vane the pure gold of two hundred and fifty years of American civilization, with no particle of its dross. Plato would have welcomed him to the Academy, and Fénelon kneeled with him at the altar. He made Somers and John Marshall possible; like Carnot, he organized victory; and Milton pales before him in the stainlessness of his record. He stands among English statesmen pre-eminently the representative, in practice and in theory, of serene faith in the safety of trusting truth wholly to her own defence. For other men we walk backward, and throw over their memories the mantle of charity and excuse, saying reverently, "Remember

the temptation and the age." But Vane's ermine has no stain; no act of his needs explanation or apology; and in thought he stands abreast of our age,—like pure intellect, belongs to all time.

5 Carlyle said, in years when his words were worth heeding, "Young men, close your Byron, and open your Goethe." If my counsel had weight in these halls, I should say, "Young men, close your John Winthrop and Washington, your Jefferson and Webster, and open Sir  
15 Harry Vane." The generation that knew Vane gave to our Alma Mater for a seal the simple pledge,—*Veritas*.

But the narrowness and poverty of colonial life soon starved out this element. Harvard was rededicated *Christo et Ecclesiæ*; and up to the middle of the last  
15 century, free thought in religion meant Charles Chauncey and the Brattle-Street Church protest, while free thought hardly existed anywhere else. But a single generation changed all this. A hundred years ago there were pulpits that led the popular movement; while out-  
20 side of religion and of what called itself literature, industry and a jealous sense of personal freedom obeyed, in their rapid growth, the law of their natures. English common-sense and those municipal institutions born of the common law, and which had saved and sheltered it,  
25 grew inevitably too large for the eggshell of English dependence, and allowed it to drop off as naturally as the chick does when she is ready. There was no change of law, nothing that could properly be called revolution, only noiseless growth, the seed bursting into flower,  
30 infancy becoming manhood. It was life, in its omnipotence, rending whatever dead matter confined it. So have I seen the tiny weeds of a luxuriant Italian spring upheave the colossal foundations of the Caesars' palace, and leave it a mass of ruins.

But when the veil was withdrawn, what stood revealed astonished the world. It showed the undreamt power, the serene strength of simple manhood, free from the burden and restraint of absurd institutions in Church and State. The grandeur of this new Western constellation gave courage to Europe, resulting in the French Revolution, the greatest, the most unmixed, the most unstained and wholly perfect blessing Europe has had in modern times, unless we may possibly except the Reformation and the invention of printing. 10

What precise effect that giant wave had when it struck our shore we can only guess. History is, for the most part, an idle amusement, the day-dream of pedants and triflers. The details of events, the actors' motives, and their relation to each other are buried with them. How 15 impossible to learn the exact truth of what took place yesterday under your next neighbor's roof! Yet, we complacently argue and speculate about matters a thousand miles off, and a thousand years ago, as if we knew them. When I was a student here, my favorite study 20 was history. The world and affairs have shown me that one half of history is loose conjecture, and much of the rest is the writer's opinion. But most men see facts, not with their eyes, but with their prejudices. Any one familiar with courts will testify how rare it is for an 25 honest man to give a perfectly correct account of a transaction. We are tempted to see facts as we think they ought to be, or wish they were. And yet journals are the favorite original sources of history. Tremble, my good friend, if your sixpenny neighbor keeps a 30 journal. "It adds a new terror to death." You shall go down to your children not in your fair lineaments and proportions, but with the smirks, elbows, and angles he sees you with. Journals are excellent to record the

depth of the last snow and the date when the May-flower opens; but when you come to men's motives and characters, journals are the magnets that get near the chronometer of history and make all its records worthless. You can count on the fingers of your two hands all the robust minds that ever kept journals. Only milk-sops and fribbles indulge in that amusement, except now and then a respectable mediocrity. One such journal nightmares New England annals, emptied into history by respectable middle-aged gentlemen who fancy that narrowness and spleen, like poor wine, mellow into truth when they get to be a century old. But you might as well cite the *Daily Advertiser* of 1850 as authority on one of Garrison's actions.

And, after all, of what value are these minutiae? Whether Luther's zeal was partly kindled by lack of gain from the sale of indulgences, whether Boston rebels were half smugglers and half patriots, what matters it now? Enough that he meant to wrench the gag from Europe's lips, and that they were content to suffer keenly, that we might have an untrammelled career. We can only hope to discover the great currents and massive forces which have shaped our lives; all else is trying to solve a problem of whose elements we know nothing. As the poet-historian of the last generation says so plaintively, "History comes like a beggarly gleaner in the field, after Death, the great lord of the domain, has gathered the harvest, and lodged it in his garner, which no man may open."

But we may safely infer that French debate and experience broadened and encouraged our fathers. To that we undoubtedly owe, in some degree, the theoretical perfection, ingrafted on English practical sense and old forms, which marks the foundation of our republic.

English civil life, up to that time, grew largely out of custom, rested almost wholly on precedent. For our model there was no authority in the record, no precedent on the file; unless you find it, perhaps, partially, in that Long Parliament bill with which Sir Harry Vane would have outgeneralled Cromwell, if the shameless soldier had not crushed it with his muskets.

Standing on Saxon foundations, and inspired, perhaps, in some degree by Latin example, we have done what no race, no nation, no age, had before dared even to try. We have founded a republic on the unlimited suffrage of the millions. We have actually worked out the problem that man, as God created him, may be trusted with self-government. We have shown the world that a Church without a bishop, and a State without a king, is an actual, real, every-day possibility. Look back over the history of the race; where will you find a chapter that precedes us in that achievement? Greece had her republics, but they were the republics of a few freemen and subjects and many slaves; and "the battle of Marathon was fought by slaves, unchained from the door-posts of their masters' houses." Italy had her republics: they were the republics of wealth and skill and family, limited and aristocratic. The Swiss republics were groups of cousins. Holland had her republic, a republic of guilds and landholders, trusting the helm of state to property and education. And all these, which at their best held but a million or two within their narrow limits, have gone down in the ocean of time.

A hundred years ago our fathers announced this sublime, and, as it seemed then, foolhardy declaration,—that God intended all men to be free and equal: all men, without restriction, without qualification, without limit.

A hundred years have rolled away since that venturous declaration; and to-day, with a territory that joins ocean to ocean, with fifty millions of people, with two wars behind her, with the grand achievement of having grappled with the fearful disease that threatened her central life and broken four millions of fetters, the great Republic, stronger than ever, launches into the second century of her existence. The history of the world has no such chapter in its breadth, its depth, its significance, or its bearing on future history.

What Wycliffe did for religion, Jefferson and Sam Adams did for the State,—they trusted it to the people. He gave the masses the Bible, the right to think. Jefferson and Sam Adams gave them the ballot, the right to rule. His intrepid advance contemplated theirs as its natural, inevitable result. Their serene faith completed the gift which the Anglo-Saxon race makes to humanity. We have not only established a new measure of the possibilities of the race; we have laid on strength, wisdom, and skill a new responsibility. Grant that each man's relations to God and his neighbor are exclusively his own concern, and that he is entitled to all the aid that will make him the best judge of these relations; that the people are the source of all power, and their measureless capacity, the lever of all progress; their sense of right, the court of final appeal in civil affairs; the institutions they create the only ones any power has a right to impose; that the attempt of one class to prescribe the law, the religion, the morals, or the trade of another is both unjust and harmful,—and the Wycliffe and Jefferson of history mean this if they mean anything,—then, when in 1867, Parliament doubled the English franchise, Robert Lowe was right in affirming, amid the cheers of the House, "Now the

first interest and duty of every Englishman is to educate the masses—our masters.” Then, whoever sees farther than his neighbor is that neighbor’s servant to lift him to such higher level. Then, power, ability, influence, character, virtue, are only trusts with which to serve our time.

We all agree in the duty of scholars to help those less favored in life, and that this duty of scholars to educate the mass is still more imperative in a republic, since a republic trusts the State wholly to the intelligence and moral sense of the people. The experience of the last forty years shows every man that law has no atom of strength, either in Boston, or New Orleans, unless, and only so far as, public opinion indorses it, and that your life, goods, and good name rest on the moral sense, self-respect, and law-abiding mood of the men that walk the streets, and hardly a whit on the provisions of the statute-book. Come, any one of you, outside of the ranks of popular men, and you will not fail to find it so. Easy men dream that we live under a government of law. Absurd mistake! we live under a government of men and newspapers. Your first attempt to stem dominant and keenly-cherished opinions will reveal this to you.

But what is education? Of course it is not book-learning. Book-learning does not make five per cent of that mass of common-sense that “runs” the world, transacts its business, secures its progress, trebles its power over Nature, works out in the long run a rough average justice, wears away the world’s restraints, and lifts off its burdens. The ideal Yankee, who “has more brains in his hand than others have in their skulls,” is not a scholar; and two thirds of the inventions that enable France to double the world’s sunshine, and make



Old and New England the workshops of the world, did not come from colleges or from minds trained in the schools of science, but struggled up, forcing their way against giant obstacles, from the irrepressible instinct  
5 of untrained natural power. Her workshops, not her colleges, made England, for a while, the mistress of the world; and the hardest job her workman had was to make Oxford willing he should work his wonders.

So of moral gains. As shrewd an observer as Governor Marcy, of New York, often said he cared nothing  
10 for the whole press of the seaboard, representing wealth and education (he meant book-learning), if it set itself against the instincts of the people. Lord Brougham, in a remarkable comment on the life of Romilly, enlarges on the fact that the great reformer of the penal  
15 law found all the legislative and all the judicial power of England, its colleges and its bar, marshalled against him, and owed his success, *as all such reforms do*, says his lordship, to public meetings and popular instinct.  
20 It would be no exaggeration to say that government itself began in usurpation, in the feudalism of the soldier and the bigotry of the priest; that liberty and civilization are only fragments of rights wrung from the strong hands of wealth and book-learning. Almost  
25 all the great truths relating to society were not the result of scholarly meditation, "hiving up wisdom with each curious year," but have been first heard in the solemn protests of martyred patriotism and the loud cries of crushed and starving labor. When common-  
30 sense and the common people have stereotyped a principle into a statute, then book-men come to explain how it was discovered and on what ground it rests. The world makes history, and scholars write it,—one half

truly, and the other half as their prejudices blur and distort it.

New England learned more of the principles of toleration from a lyceum committee doubting the dicta of editors and bishops when they forbade it to put Theodore Parker on its platform; more from a debate whether the Antislavery cause should be so far countenanced as to invite one of its advocates to lecture; from Sumner and Emerson, George William Curtis, and Edwin Whipple, refusing to speak unless a negro could buy his way into their halls as freely as any other,—New England has learned more from these lessons than she has or could have done from all the treatises on free printing from Milton and Roger Williams through Locke down to Stuart Mill. 15

Selden, the profoundest scholar of his day, affirmed, "No man is wiser for his learning;" and that was only an echo of the Saxon proverb, "No fool is a perfect fool until he learns Latin." Bancroft says of our fathers, that "the wildest theories of the human reason were reduced to practice by a community so humble that no statesman condescended to notice it, and a legislation without precedent was produced off-hand by the instincts of the people." And Wordsworth testifies, that, while German schools might well blush for their subserviency,— 20

"A few strong instincts and a few plain rules,  
Among the herdsmen of the Alps, have wrought  
More for mankind at this unhappy day  
Than all the pride of intellect and thought."

30

Wycliffe was, no doubt, a learned man. But the learning of his day would have burned him, had it dared, as it did burn his dead body afterwards. Luther

and Melanchthon were scholars, but they were repudiated by the scholarship of their time, which followed Erasmus, trying "all his life to tread on eggs without breaking them;" he who proclaimed that "peaceful error was  
5 better than tempestuous truth." What would college-graduate Seward weigh, in any scale, against Lincoln bred in affairs?

Hence, I do not think the greatest things have been done for the world by its book-men. Education is not  
10 the chips of arithmetic and grammar,—nouns, verbs, and the multiplication table; neither is it that last year's almanac of dates, or series of lies agreed upon, which we so often mistake for history. Education is not Greek and Latin and the air-pump. Still, I rate at its full  
15 value the training we get in these walls. Though what we actually carry away is little enough, we do get some training of our powers, as the gymnast or the fencer does of his muscles; we go hence also with such general knowledge of what mankind has agreed to consider  
20 proved and settled, that we know where to reach for the weapon when we need it.

I have often thought the motto prefixed to his college library catalogue by the father of the late Professor Peirce,—Professor Peirce, the largest natural genius,  
25 the man of the deepest reach and firmest grasp and widest sympathy, that God has given to Harvard in our day, whose presence made you the loftiest peak and farthest outpost of more than mere scientific thought, the magnet who, with his twin Agassiz, made Harvard  
30 for forty years the intellectual Mecca of forty States,—his father's catalogue bore for a motto, *Scire ubi aliquid invenias magna pars eruditionis est*; and that always seemed to me to gauge very nearly all we acquired at college, except facility in the use of our powers. Our

influence in the community does not really spring from superior attainments, but from this thorough training of faculties, and more even, perhaps, from the deference men accord to us.

Gibbon says we have two educations,—one from teachers, and the other we give ourselves. This last is the real and only education of the masses,—one gotten from life, from affairs, from earning one's bread; necessity, the mother of invention; responsibility, that teaches prudence, and inspires respect for right. Mark the critic out of office; how reckless in assertion, how careless of consequences; and then the caution, forethought, and fair play of the same man charged with administration. See that young, thoughtless wife suddenly widowed; how wary and skilful, what ingenuity in guarding her child and saving his rights! Any one who studied Europe forty or fifty years ago could not but have marked the level of talk there, far below that of our masses. It was of crops and rents, markets and marriages, scandal and fun. Watch men here, and how often you listen to the keenest discussions of right and wrong, this leader's honesty, that party's justice, the fairness of this law, the impolicy of that measure,—lofty, broad topics, training morals, widening views. Niebuhr said of Italy, sixty years ago, "No one feels himself a citizen. Not only are the people destitute of hope, but they have not even wishes touching the world's affairs; and hence all the springs of great and noble thoughts are choked up."

In this sense the Fremont campaign of 1856 taught Americans more than a hundred colleges; and John Brown's pulpit at Harper's Ferry was equal to any ten thousand ordinary chairs. God lifted a million of hearts to his gibbet, as the Roman cross lifted a world to itself

in that divine sacrifice of two thousand years ago. As much as statesmanship had taught in our previous eighty years, that one week of intellectual watching and weighing and dividing truth taught twenty millions of people. Yet how little, brothers, can we claim for book-men in that uprising and growth of 1856! And while the first of American scholars could hardly find in the rich vocabulary of Saxon scorn words enough to express, amid the plaudits of his class, his loathing and contempt for John Brown, Europe thrilled to him as proof that our institutions had not lost all their native and distinctive life. She had grown tired of our parrot note and cold moonlight reflection of older civilizations. Lansdowne and Brougham could confess to Sumner that they had never read a page of their contemporary, Daniel Webster; and you spoke to vacant eyes when you named Prescott, fifty years ago, to average Europeans; while Vienna asked, with careless indifference, "Seward, who is he?" But long before our ranks marched up State Street to the John Brown song, the banks of the Seine and of the Danube hailed the new life which had given us another and nobler Washington. Lowell foresaw him when, forty years ago, he sang of,—

25       "Truth forever on the scaffold,  
          Wrong forever on the throne;  
          Yet that scaffold sways the future,  
          And behind the dim unknown  
          Standeth God, within the shadow,  
          Keeping watch above his own."

30 And yet the book-men, as a class, have not yet acknowledged him.

It is here that letters betray their lack of distinctive American character. Fifty millions of men God gives us to mould; burning questions, keen debate, great in-

terests trying to vindicate their right to be, sad wrongs brought to the bar of public judgment,—these are the people's schools. Timid scholarship either shrinks from sharing in these agitations, or denounces them as vulgar and dangerous interference by incompetent hands with matters above them. A chronic distrust of the people pervades the book-educated class of the North; they shrink from that free speech which is God's normal school for educating men, throwing upon them the grave responsibility of deciding great questions, and so lifting them to a higher level of intellectual and moral life. Trust the people—the wise and the ignorant, the good and the bad—with the gravest questions, and in the end you educate the race. At the same time you secure, not perfect institutions, not necessarily good ones, but the best institutions possible while human nature is the basis and the only material to build with. Men are educated and the State uplifted by allowing all—every one—to broach all their mistakes and advocate all their errors. The community that will not protect its most ignorant and unpopular member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves!

Anacharsis went into the Archon's court at Athens, heard a case argued by the great men of that city, and saw the vote by five hundred men. Walking in the streets, some one asked him, "What do you think of Athenian liberty?" "I think," said he, "wise men argue cases, and fools decide them." Just what that timid scholar, two thousand years ago, said in the streets of Athens, that which calls itself scholarship here says to-day of popular agitation,—that it lets wise men argue questions and fools decide them. But that Athens where fools decided the gravest questions of policy and

of right and wrong, where property you had gathered wearily to-day might be wrung from you by the caprice of the mob to-morrow,—that very Athens probably secured, for its era, the greatest amount of human happiness and nobleness, invented art, and sounded for us the depths of philosophy. God lent to it the largest intellects, and it flashes to-day the torch that gilds yet the mountain peaks of the Old World. While Egypt, the hunker conservative of antiquity, where nobody dared to differ from the priest or to be wiser than his grandfather; where men pretended to be alive, though swaddled in the grave-clothes of creed and custom as close as their mummies were in linen,—that Egypt is hid in the tomb it inhabited, and the intellect Athens has trained for us digs to-day those ashes to find out how buried and forgotten hunkerism lived and acted.

I knew a signal instance of this disease of scholar's distrust, and the cure was as remarkable. In boyhood and early life I was honored with the friendship of Lothrop Motley. He grew up in the thin air of Boston provincialism, and pined on such weak diet. I remember sitting with him once in the State House when he was a member of our legislature. With biting words and a keen crayon he sketched the ludicrous points in the minds and persons of his fellow-members, and tearing up the pictures, said scornfully, "What can become of a country with such fellows as these making its laws? No safe investments; your good name lied away any hour, and little worth keeping if it were not." In vain I combated the folly. He went to Europe; spent four or five years. I met him the day he landed on his return. As if our laughing talk in the State House had that moment ended, he took my hand with the sudden exclamation, "You were all right; I was all wrong! It

is a country worth dying for; better still, worth living and working for, to make it all it can be!" Europe made him one of the most American of all Americans. Some five years later, when he sounded the bugle-note in his letter to the London *Times*, some critics who 5 knew his early mood, but not its change, suspected there might be a taint of ambition in what they thought so sudden a conversion. I could testify that the mood was five years old,—years before the slightest shadow of political expectation had dusked the clear mirror of his 10 scholar life.

This distrust shows itself in the growing dislike of universal suffrage, and the efforts to destroy it made of late by all our easy classes. The white South hates uni- 15 versal suffrage; the so-called cultivated North distrusts it. Journal and college, social-science convention and the pulpit, discuss the propriety of restraining it. Timid scholars tell their dread of it. Carlyle, that bundle of sour prejudices, flouts universal suffrage with a blasphemy that almost equals its ignorance. See his 20 words: "Democracy will prevail when men believe the vote of Judas as good as that of Jesus Christ." No democracy ever claimed that the vote of ignorance and crime was as good in any sense as that of wisdom and virtue. It only asserts that crime and ignorance have 25 the same right to vote that virtue has. Only by allowing that right, and so appealing to their sense of justice, and throwing upon them the burden of their full responsibility, can we hope ever to raise crime and ignorance to the level of self-respect. The right to choose 30 your governor rests on precisely the same foundation as the right to choose your religion; and no more arrogant or ignorant arraignment of all that is noble in the civil and religious Europe of the last five hundred years



ever came from the triple crown on the Seven Hills than this sneer of the bigot Scotsman. Protestantism holds up its hands in holy horror, and tells us that the Pope scoops out the brains of his churchmen, saying, 5 "I'll think for you; you need only obey." But the danger is, you meet such popes far away from the Seven Hills; and it is sometimes difficult at first to recognize them, for they do not by any means always wear the triple crown.

10 Evarts and his committee, appointed to inquire why the New York City government is a failure, were not wise enough, or did not dare, to point out the real cause,—the tyranny of that tool of the demagogue, the corner grog-shop; but they advised taking away the bal- 15 lot from the poor citizen. But this provision would not reach the evil. Corruption does not so much rot the masses; it poisons Congress. Credit-Mobilier and money rings are not housed under thatched roofs; they flaunt at the Capitol. As usual in chemistry, the scum 20 floats uppermost. The railway king disdained canvassing for voters: "It is cheaper," he said, "to buy legislatures."

It is not the masses who have most disgraced our political annals. I have seen many mobs between the 25 seaboard and the Mississippi. I never saw or heard of any but well-dressed mobs, assembled and countenanced, if not always led in person, by respectability and what called itself education. That unrivalled scholar, the first and greatest New England ever lent to Congress, 30 signalled his advent by quoting the original Greek of the New Testament in support of slavery, and offering to shoulder his musket in its defence; and forty years later the last professor who went to quicken and lift the moral mood of those halls is found advising a plain,

blunt, honest witness to forge and lie, that this scholarly reputation might be saved from wreck. Singular comment on Landor's sneer, that there is a spice of the scoundrel in most of our literary men. But no exacting level of property qualification for a vote would have saved those stains. In those cases Judas did not come from the unlearned class.

Grown gray over history, Macaulay prophesied twenty years ago that soon in these States the poor, worse than another inroad of Goths and Vandals, would begin a general plunder of the rich. It is enough to say that our national funds sell as well in Europe as English consols; and the universal-suffrage Union can borrow money as cheaply as Great Britain, ruled, one half by Tories, and the other half by men not certain that they dare call themselves Whigs. Some men affected to scoff at democracy as no sound basis for national debt, doubting the payment of ours. Europe not only wonders at its rapid payment, but the only taint of fraud that touches even the hem of our garment is the fraud of the capitalist cunningly adding to its burdens, and increasing unfairly the value of his bonds; not the first hint from the people of repudiating an iota even of its unjust additions.

Yet the poor and the unlearned class is the one they propose to punish by disfranchisement.

No wonder the humbler class looks on the whole scene with alarm. They see their dearest right in peril. When the easy class conspires to steal, what wonder the humbler class draws together to defend itself? True, universal suffrage is a terrible power; and with all the great cities brought into subjection to the dangerous classes by grog, and Congress sitting to register the decrees of capital, both sides may well dread the next

move. Experience proves that popular governments are the best protectors of life and property. But suppose they were not, Bancroft allows that "the fears of one class are no measure of the rights of another."

- 5 Suppose that universal suffrage endangered peace and threatened property. There is something more valuable than wealth, there is something more sacred than peace. As Humboldt says, "The finest fruit earth holds up to its Maker is a man." To ripen, lift, and educate a man
- 10 is the first duty. Trade, law, learning, science, and religion are only the scaffolding wherewith to build a man. Despotism looks down into the poor man's cradle, and knows it can crush resistance and curb ill-will. Democracy sees the ballot in that baby-hand; and self-
- 15 fishness bids her put integrity on one side of those baby footsteps and intelligence on the other, lest her own hearth be in peril. Thank God for His method of taking bonds of wealth and culture to share all their blessings with the humblest soul He gives to their keeping!
- 20 The American should cherish as serene a faith as his fathers had. Instead of seeking a coward safety by batten- ing down the hatches and putting men back into chains, he should recognize that God places him in this peril that he may work out a noble security by concen-
- 25 trating all moral forces to lift this weak, rotting, and dangerous mass into sunlight and health. The fathers touched their highest level when, with stout-hearted and serene faith, they trusted God that it was safe to leave men with all the rights he gave them. Let us
- 30 be worthy of their blood, and save this sheet-anchor of the race,—universal suffrage,—God's church, God's school, God's method of gently binding men into commonwealths in order that they may at last melt into brothers.

I urge on college-bred men, that, as a class, they fail in republican duty when they allow others to lead in the agitation of the great social questions which stir and educate the age. Agitation is an old word with a new meaning. Sir Robert Peel, the first English leader who felt himself its tool, defined it to be "marshalling the conscience of a nation to mould its laws." Its means are reason and argument,—no appeal to arms. Wait patiently for the growth of public opinion. That secured, then every step taken is taken forever. An abuse once removed never reappears in history. The freer a nation becomes, the more utterly democratic in its form, the more need of this outside agitation. Parties and sects laden with the burden of securing their own success cannot afford to risk new ideas. "Predominant opinions," said Disraeli, "are the opinions of a class that is vanishing." The agitator must stand outside of organizations, with no bread to earn, no candidate to elect, no party to save, no object but truth,—to tear a question open and riddle it with light. 20

In all modern constitutional governments, agitation is the only peaceful method of progress. Wilberforce and Clarkson, Rowland Hill and Romilly, Cobden and John Bright, Garrison and O'Connell, have been the master-spirits in this new form of crusade. Rarely in this country have scholarly men joined, as a class, in these great popular schools, in these social movements which make the great interests of society "crash and jostle against each other like frigates in a storm."

It is not so much that the people need us, or will feel any lack from our absence. They can do without us. By sovereign and superabundant strength they can crush their way through all obstacles. 30

“They will march prospering,—not through our presence;  
Songs will inspirit them,—not from our lyre;  
Deeds will be done,—while we boast our quiescence,  
Still bidding crouch whom the rest bid aspire.”

5 The misfortune is, we lose a God-given opportunity of making the change an unmixed good, or with the slightest possible share of evil, and are recreant besides to a special duty. These “agitations” are the opportunities and the means God offers us to refine the taste,  
10 mould the character, lift the purpose, and educate the moral sense of the masses on whose intelligence and self-respect rests the State. God furnishes these texts. He gathers for us this audience, and only asks of our coward lips to preach the sermons.

15 There have been four or five of these great opportunities. The crusade against slavery—that grand hypocrisy which poisoned the national life of two generations—was one,—a conflict between two civilizations which threatened to rend the Union. Almost every  
20 element among us was stirred to take a part in the battle. Every great issue, civil and moral, was involved,—toleration of opinion, limits of authority, relation of citizen to law, place of the Bible, priest and layman, sphere of woman, question of race, State rights and na-  
25 tionality; and Channing testified that free speech and free printing owed their preservation to the struggle. But the pulpit flung the Bible at the reformer; law visited him with its penalties; society spewed him out of its mouth; bishops expurgated the pictures of their  
30 Common Prayer Books; and editors omitted pages in republishing English history; even Pierpont emasculated his Class-book; Bancroft remodelled his chapters; and Everett carried Washington through thirty States, remembering to forget the brave words the wise Vir-

ginian had left on record warning his countrymen of this evil. Amid this battle of the giants, scholarship sat dumb for thirty years until imminent deadly peril convulsed it into action, and colleges, in their despair, gave to the army that help they had refused to the market-place and the rostrum.

There was here and there an exception. That earthquake scholar at Concord, whose serene word, like a whisper among the avalanches, topples down superstitions and prejudices, was at his post, and with half a score of others, made the exception that proved the rule. Pulpits, just so far as they could not boast of culture, and nestled closest down among the masses, were infinitely braver than the "spires and antique towers" of stately collegiate institutions.

Then came reform of penal legislation,—the effort to make law mean justice, and substitute for its barbarism Christianity and civilization. In Massachusetts, Rantoul represents Beccaria and Livingston, Mackintosh and Romilly. I doubt if he ever had one word of encouragement from Massachusetts letters; and with a single exception, I have never seen, till within a dozen years, one that could be called a scholar active in moving the legislature to reform its code.

The London *Times* proclaimed, twenty years ago, that intemperance produced more idleness, crime, disease, want and misery, than all other causes put together; and the Westminster *Review* calls it a "curse that far eclipses every other calamity under which we suffer." Gladstone, speaking as prime minister, admitted that "greater calamities are inflicted on mankind by intemperance than by the three great historical scourges,—war, pestilence, and famine." De Quincéy says, "The most remarkable instance of a combined movement in

society which history, perhaps, will be summoned to notice, is that which, in our day, has applied itself to the abatement of intemperance. Two vast movements are hurrying into action by velocities continually accelerated,—the great revolutionary movement from *political* causes, concurring with the great *physical* movement in locomotion and social intercourse from the gigantic power of steam. At the opening of such a crisis, had no *third movement arisen of resistance to intemperate* habits, there would have been ground of despondency as to the melioration of the human race.” These are English testimonies, where the State rests more than half on bayonets. Here we are trying to rest the ballot-box on a drunken people. “We can rule a great city,” said Sir Robert Peel, “America cannot;” and he cited the mobs of New York as sufficient proof of his assertion.

Thoughtful men see that up to this hour the government of great cities has been with us a failure; that worse than the dry-rot of legislative corruption, than the rancor of party spirit, than Southern barbarism, than even the tyranny of incorporated wealth, is the giant burden of intemperance, making universal suffrage a failure and a curse in every great city. Scholars who play statesmen, and editors who masquerade as scholars, can waste much excellent anxiety that clerks shall get no office until they know the exact date of Caesar’s assassination, as well as the latitude of Peking, and the Rule of Three. But while this crusade—the Temperance movement—has been, for sixty years, gathering its facts and marshalling its arguments, rallying parties, besieging legislatures, and putting great States on the witness-stand as evidence of the soundness of its methods, scholars have given it nothing but a sneer. But if universal suffrage ever fails here for a time,—

permanently it cannot fail,—it will not be incapable civil service, nor an ambitious soldier, nor Southern vandals, nor venal legislatures, nor the greed of wealth, nor boy statesmen rotten before they are ripe, that will put universal suffrage into eclipse: it will be rum in- 5  
trenched in great cities and commanding every vantage ground.

Social science affirms that woman's place in society marks the level of civilization. From its twilight in Greece, through the Italian worship of the Virgin, the 10  
dreams of chivalry, the justice of the civil law, and the equality of French society, we trace her gradual recognition; while our common law, as Lord Brougham confessed, was, with relation to women, the opprobrium of the age and of Christianity. For forty years plain men 15  
and women, working noiselessly, have washed away that opprobrium; the statute-books of thirty States have been remodelled, and woman stands to-day almost face to face with her last claim,—the ballot. It has been a weary and thankless, though successful, struggle. But 20  
if there be any refuge from that ghastly curse,—the vice of great cities, before which social science stands palsied and dumb,—it is in this more equal recognition of woman. If, in this critical battle for universal suffrage, —our fathers' noblest legacy to us, and the greatest 25  
trust God leaves in our hands,—there be any weapon, which once taken from the armory will make victory certain, it will be, as it has been in art, literature, and society, summoning woman into the political arena.

But at any rate, up to this point, putting suffrage 30  
aside, there can be no difference of opinion; everything born of Christianity, or allied to Grecian culture or Saxon law, must rejoice in the gain. The literary class, until within half a dozen years, has taken note of this



great uprising only to fling every obstacle in its way. The first glimpse we get of Saxon blood in history is that line of Tacitus in his "Germany," which reads, "In all grave matters they consult their women." Years  
5 hence, when robust Saxon sense has flung away Jewish superstition and Eastern prejudice, and put under its foot fastidious scholarship and squeamish fashion, some second Tacitus, from the valley of the Mississippi, will answer to him of the Seven Hills, "In all grave ques-  
10 tions we consult our women."

I used to think that then we could say to letters as Henry of Navarre wrote to the Sir Philip Sidney of his realm, Crillon, "the bravest of the brave," "We have conquered at Arques, *et tu n'y étais pas, Crillon*,"—  
15 "You were not there, my Crillon." But a second thought reminds me that what claims to be literature has been always present in that battlefield, and always in the ranks of the foe.

Ireland is another touchstone which reveals to us  
20 how absurdly we masquerade in democratic trappings while we have gone to seed in Tory distrust of the people; false to every duty, which, as eldest-born of democratic institutions, we owe to the oppressed, and careless of the lesson every such movement may be made in keep-  
25 ing public thought, clear, keen, and fresh as to principles which are the essence of our civilization, the groundwork of all education in republics.

Sydney Smith said, "The moment Ireland is mentioned the English seem to bid adieu to common-sense,  
30 and to act with the barbarity of tyrants and the fatuity of idiots. . . . As long as the patient will suffer, the cruel will kick. . . . If the Irish go on withholding and forbearing, and hesitating whether this is the time for discussion or that is the time, they will be

laughed at another century as fools, and kicked for another century as slaves." Byron called England's Union with Ireland "the union of the shark with his prey." Bentham's conclusion, from a survey of five hundred years of European history, was, "Only by making the 5 ruling few uneasy can the oppressed many obtain a particle of relief." Edmund Burke—Burke, the noblest figure in the Parliamentary history of the last hundred years, greater than Cicero in the senate and almost Plato in the academy—Burke affirmed, a century ago, 10 "Ireland has learned at last that justice is to be had from England only when demanded at the sword's point." And a century later, only last year, Gladstone himself proclaimed in a public address in Scotland, "England never concedes anything to Ireland except 15 when moved to do so by fear."

When we remember these admissions, we ought to clap our hands at every fresh Irish "outrage," as a parrot-press styles it, aware that it is only a far-off echo of the musket-shots that rattled against the Old State 20 House on the 5th of March, 1770, and of the war-whoop that made the tiny spire of the Old South tremble when Boston rioters emptied the three India tea-ships into the sea,—welcome evidence of living force and rare intelligence in the victim, and a sign that the day of deliver- 25 ance draws each hour nearer. Cease ringing endless changes of eulogy on the men who made North's Boston port-bill a failure, while every leading journal sends daily over the water wishes for the success of Gladstone's copy of the bill for Ireland. If all rightful gov- 30 ernment rests on consent,—if, as the French say, you "can do almost anything with a bayonet except sit on it,"—be at least consistent, and denounce the man who covers Ireland with regiments to hold up a despotism

which, within twenty months, he has confessed rests wholly upon fear.

Then note the scorn and disgust with which we gather up our garments about us and disown the Sam Adams and William Prescott, the George Washington and John Brown, of St. Petersburg, the spiritual descendants, the living representatives of those who make our history worth anything in the world's annals,—the Nihilists.

10 Nihilism is the righteous and honorable resistance of a people crushed under an iron rule. Nihilism is evidence of life. When "order reigns in Warsaw," it is spiritual death. Nihilism is the last weapon of victims choked and manacled beyond all other resistance. It  
15 is crushed humanity's only means of making the oppressor tremble. God means that unjust power shall be insecure; and every move of the giant, prostrate in chains, whether it be to lift a single dagger, or stir a city's revolt, is a lesson in justice. One might well  
20 tremble for the future of the race if such a despotism could exist without provoking the bloodiest resistance. I honor Nihilism, since it redeems human nature from the suspicion of being utterly vile, made up only of heartless oppressors and contented slaves. Every line  
25 in our history, every interest of civilization, bids us rejoice when the tyrant grows pale and the slave rebellious. We cannot but pity the suffering of any human being, however richly deserved; but such pity must not confuse our moral sense. Humanity gains. Chat-  
30 ham rejoiced when our fathers rebelled. For every single reason they alleged, Russia counts a hundred, each one ten times bitterer than any Hancock or Adams could give. Sam Johnson's standing toast in Oxford port was, "Success to the first insurrection of slaves in

Jamaica,"—a sentiment Southey echoed. "Eschew cant," said that old moralist. But of all the cants that are canted in this canting world, though the cant of piety may be the worst, the cant of Americans bewailing Russian Nihilism is the most disgusting. 5

I know what reform needs, and all it needs, in a land where discussion is free, the press untrammelled, and where public halls protect debate. There, as Emerson says, "What the tender and poetic youth dreams to-day, and conjures up with inarticulate speech, is to-morrow 10 the vociferated result of public opinion, and the day after is the charter of nations." (Lieber said, in 1870, "Bismarck proclaims to-day in the Diet the very principles for which we were hunted and exiled fifty years ago.") Submit to risk your daily bread, expect social 15 ostracism, count on a mob now and then, "be in earnest, don't equivocate, don't excuse, don't retreat a single inch," and you will finally be heard. No matter how long and weary the waiting, at last,—

"Ever the truth comes uppermost,  
And ever is justice done;" 20

"For Humanity sweeps onward,  
Where to-day the martyr stands  
On the morrow crouches Judas,  
With the silver in his hands; 25

"Far in front the cross stands ready,  
And the crackling fagots burn,  
While the hooting mob of yesterday  
In silent awe return  
To glean up the scattered ashes 30  
Into History's golden urn."

In such a land he is doubly and trebly guilty who, except in some most extreme case, disturbs the sober rule of law and order.

- But such is not Russia. In Russia there is no press, no debate, no explanation of what government does, no remonstrance allowed, no agitation of public issues. Dead silence, like that which reigns at the summit of
- 5 Mont Blanc, freezes the whole empire, long ago described as "a despotism tempered by assassination." Meanwhile, such despotism has unsettled the brains of the ruling family, as unbridled power doubtless made some of the twelve Cæsars insane,—a madman sporting
- 10 with the lives and comfort of hundred millions of men. The young girl whispers in her mother's ear, under a ceiled roof, her pity for a brother knouted and dragged half dead into exile for his opinions. The next week she is stripped naked and flogged to death in the public
- 15 square. No inquiry, no explanation, no trial, no protest; one dead uniform silence,—the law of the tyrant. Where is there ground for any hope of peaceful change? Where the fulcrum upon which you can plant any possible lever?
- 20 Macchiavelli's sorry picture of poor human nature would be fulsome flattery if men could keep still under such oppression. No, no! in such a land dynamite and the dagger are the necessary and proper substitutes for Faneuil Hall and the *Daily Advertiser*. Anything that
- 25 will make the madman quake in his bedchamber, and rouse his victims into reckless and desperate resistance. This is the only view an American, the child of 1620 and 1776, can take of Nihilism. Any other unsettles and perplexes the ethics of our civilization.
- 30 Born within sight of Bunker Hill, in a commonwealth which adopts the motto of Algernon Sydney, *sub libertate quietem* ("accept no peace without liberty"); son of Harvard, whose first pledge was "Truth;" citizen of a republic based on the claim that no government is

rightful unless resting on the consent of the people, and which assumes to lead in asserting the rights of humanity,—I at least can say nothing else and nothing less; no, not if every tile on Cambridge roofs were a devil hooting my words!

5

I shall bow to any rebuke from those who hold Christianity to command entire non-resistance. But criticism from any other quarter is only that nauseous hypocrisy which, stung by threepenny tea-tax, piles Bunker Hill with granite and statues, prating all the time of patriot-10 ism and broadswords, while, like another Pecksniff, it recommends a century of dumb submission and entire non-resistance to the Russians, who for a hundred years have seen their sons by thousands dragged to death or exile, no one knows which, in this worse than 15 Venetian mystery of police, and their maidens flogged to death in the market-place, and who share the same fate if they presume to ask the reason why.

“It is unfortunate,” says Jefferson, “that the efforts of mankind to secure the freedom of which they have 20 been deprived, should be accompanied with violence and even with crime. But while we weep over the means, we must pray for the end.” Pray fearlessly for such ends; there is no risk! “Men are all tories by nature,” says Arnold, “when tolerably well off; only monstrous 25 injustice and atrocious cruelty can rouse them.” Some talk of the rashness of the uneducated classes. Alas! ignorance is far oftener obstinate than rash. Against one French Revolution—that scarecrow of the ages—weigh Asia, “carved in stone,” and a thousand years of 30 Europe, with her half-dozen nations meted out and trodden down to be the dull and contented footstools of priests and kings. The customs of a thousand years ago are the sheet-anchor of the passing generation, so

deeply buried, so fixed, that the most violent efforts of the maddest fanatic can drag it but a hand's-breadth.

Before the war, Americans were like the crowd in that terrible hall of Eblis which Beckford painted for us,—each man with his hand pressed on the incurable sore in his bosom, and pledged not to speak of it; compared with other lands, we were intellectually and morally a nation of cowards.

When I first entered the Roman States, a custom-house official seized all my French books. In vain I held up to him a treatise by Fénelon, and explained that it was by a Catholic archbishop of Cambray. Gruffly he answered, "It makes no difference; *it is French.*" As I surrendered the volume to his remorseless grasp, I could not but honor the nation which had made its revolutionary purpose so definite that despotism feared its very language. I only wished that injustice and despotism everywhere might one day have as good cause to hate and to fear everything American.

At last that disgraceful seal of slave complicity is broken. Let us inaugurate a new departure, recognize that we are afloat on the current of Niagara, eternal vigilance the condition of our safety, that we are irrevocably pledged to the world not to go back to bolts and bars,—could not if we would, and would not if we could. Never again be ours the fastidious scholarship that shrinks from rude contact with the masses. Very pleasant it is to sit high up in the world's theatre and criticise the ungraceful struggles of the gladiators, shrug one's shoulders at the actors' harsh cries, and let every one know that but for this "villanous saltpetre you would yourself have been a soldier." But Bacon says, "In the theatre of man's life, God and his angels only should be lookers-on." "Sin is not taken out of man

✓ as Eve was out of Adam, by putting him to sleep.”  
“Very beautiful,” says Richter, “is the eagle when he floats with outstretched wings aloft in the clear blue; but sublime when he plunges down through the tempest to his eyry on the cliff, where his unfledged young ones dwell and are starving.” Accept proudly the analysis of Fisher Ames: (“A monarchy is a man-of-war, staunch, iron-ribbed, and resistless when under full sail; yet a single hidden rock sends her to the bottom. Our republic is a raft hard to steer, and your feet always wet; but nothing can sink her.” If the Alps, piled in cold and silence, be the emblem of despotism, we joyfully take the ever-restless ocean for ours,—only pure because never still.

Journalism must have more self-respect. Now it praises good and bad men so indiscriminately that a good word from nine-tenths of our journals is worthless. In burying our Aaron Burrs, both political parties—in order to get the credit of magnanimity—exhaust the vocabulary of eulogy so thoroughly that there is nothing left with which to distinguish our John Jays. The love of a good name in life and a fair reputation to survive us—that strong bond to well-doing—is lost where every career, however stained, is covered with the same fulsome flattery, and where what men say in the streets is the exact opposite of what they say to each other. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*, most men translate, “Speak only good of the dead.” I prefer to construe it, “Of the dead say nothing unless you can tell something good.” And if the sin and the recreancy have been marked and far-reaching in their evil, even the charity of silence is not permissible.

To be as good as our fathers we must be better. They silenced their fears and subdued their prejudices,



inaugurating free speech and equality with no precedent on the file. Europe shouted "Madmen!" and gave us forty years for the shipwreck. With serene faith they persevered. Let us rise to their level. Crush appetite, and prohibit temptation if it rots great cities. Intrench labor in sufficient bulwarks against that wealth which, without the tenfold strength of modern incorporation, wrecked the Grecian and Roman States; and with a sterner effort still, summon women into civil life as reinforcement to our laboring ranks in the effort to make our civilization a success.

Sit not, like the figure on our silver coin, looking ever backward.

15        "New occasions teach new duties;  
Time makes ancient good uncouth;  
They must upward still, and onward,  
Who would keep abreast of Truth.  
Lo! before us gleam her camp-fires!  
We ourselves must Pilgrims be,  
20        Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly  
Through the desperate winter sea,  
Nor attempt the Future's portal  
With the Past's blood-rusted key."

## THE NEW SOUTH

HENRY W. GRADY

Before the New England Club, New York, December 21, 1886

"There was a South of slavery and secession: that South is dead. There is a South of union and freedom: that South, thank God, is living, breathing, growing every hour." These words, delivered from the immortal lips of Benjamin H. Hill, at Tammany Hall 5 in 1866, true then and truer now, I shall make my text to-night.

Mr. President and Gentlemen, let me express to you my appreciation of the kindness by which I am permitted to address you. I make this abrupt acknowl- 10 edgement advisedly, for I feel that if, when I raise my provincial voice in this ancient and august presence, I could find courage for no more than the opening sentence, it would be well if in that sentence I had met in a rough sense my obligation as a guest, and had 15 perished, so to speak, with courtesy on my lips and grace in my heart. Permitted, through your kindness, to catch my second wind, let me say that I appreciate the significance of being the first Southerner to speak at this board, which bears the substance, if it sur- 20 passes the semblance, of original New England hospitality, and honors the sentiment that in turn honors you, but in which my personality is lost and the compliment to my people made plain.

I bespeak the utmost stretch of your courtesy to-night. 25

I am not troubled about those from whom I come. You remember the man whose wife sent him to a neighbor with a pitcher of milk, and who, tripping on the top step, fell (with such casual interruptions as the  
5 landings afforded) into the basement; and, while picking himself up, had the pleasure of hearing his wife call out: "John, did you break the pitcher?" "No, I didn't," said John, "but I'll be dinged if I don't."

So, while those who call me from behind may inspire  
10 me with energy if not with courage, I ask an indulgent hearing from you. I beg that you will bring your full faith in American fairness and frankness to judgment upon what I shall say. There was an old preacher once who told some boys of the Bible lesson he was going to  
15 read in the morning. The boys, finding the place, glued together the connecting pages. The next morning he read at the bottom of one page, "When Noah was one hundred and twenty years old he took unto himself a wife who was"—then turning the page—"140 cubits  
20 long, 40 cubits wide, built of gopher wood, and covered with pitch inside and out." He was naturally puzzled at this. He read it again, verified it, and then said: "My friends, this is the first time I ever met this in the Bible, but I accept this as an evidence of the assertion  
25 that we are fearfully and wonderfully made." If I could get you to hold such faith to-night, I could proceed cheerfully to the task I otherwise approach with a sense of consecration.

Pardon me one word, Mr. President, spoken for the  
30 sole purpose of getting into the volumes that go out annually freighted with the rich eloquence of your speakers—the fact that the Cavalier as well as the Puritan was on the continent in its early days, and that he was "up and able to be about." I have read your

books carefully and I find no mention of that fact, which seems an important one to me for preserving a sort of historical equilibrium if for nothing else.

Let me remind you that the Virginia Cavalier first challenged France on the continent; that Cavalier John 5 Smith gave New England its very name, and was so pleased with the job that he has been handing his own name around ever since; and that while Miles Standish was cutting off men's ears for courting a girl without her parents' consent, and forbade men to kiss their 10 wives on Sunday, the Cavalier was courting everything in sight, and that the Almighty had vouchsafed great increase to the Cavalier colonies, the huts in the wilderness being full as the nests in the woods.

But having incorporated the Cavalier as a fact in 15 your charming little books, I shall let him work out his own salvation, as he has always done with engaging gallantry, and we will hold no controversy as to his merits. Why should we? Neither Puritan nor Cavalier long survived as such. The virtues and good traditions 20 of both happily still live for the inspiration of their sons and the saving of the old fashion. But both Puritan and Cavalier were lost in the storm of the first Revolution, and the American citizen, supplanting both and stronger than either, took possession of the 25 republic bought by their common blood and fashioned to wisdom, and charged himself with teaching men government and establishing the voice of the people as the voice of God.

My friend Dr. Talmage has told you that the typical 30 American has yet to come. Let me tell you that he has already come. Great types, like valuable plants, are slow to flower and fruit. But from the union of these colonies, Puritans and Cavaliers,—from the straighten-

ing of their purposes and the crossing of their blood, slow perfecting through a century,—came he who stands as the first typical American, the first who comprehended within himself all the strength and gentleness, all the  
5 majesty and grace of this republic—Abraham Lincoln.

He was the sum of Puritan and Cavalier, for in his ardent nature were fused the virtues of both and in the depths of his great soul the faults of both were lost. He was greater than Puritan, greater than Cavalier, in that he was American, and that in his honest  
10 form were first gathered the vast and thrilling forces of his ideal government—charging it with such tremendous meaning and so elevating it above human suffering that martyrdom, though infamously aimed,  
15 came as a fitting crown to a life consecrated from the cradle to human liberty. Let us, each cherishing the traditions and honoring his fathers, build with reverend hands to the type of this simple but sublime life, in which all types are honored; and in our common glory  
20 as Americans there will be plenty and to spare for your forefathers and for mine.

In speaking to the toast with which you have honored me, I accept the term, "The New South," as in no sense disparaging to the Old. Dear to me, sir, is the home  
25 of my childhood and the traditions of my people. I would not, if I could, dim the glory they won in peace and war, or by word or deed take aught from the splendor and grace of their civilization—never equalled and perhaps never to be equalled in its chivalric strength  
30 and grace. There is a New South, not through protest against the Old, but because of new conditions, new adjustments, and, if you please, new ideas and aspirations. It is to this that I address myself, and to the

consideration of which I hasten lest it become the Old South before I get to it. . . .

Dr. Talmage has drawn for you, with a master's hand, the picture of your returning armies. He has told you how, in the pomp and circumstance of war, 5 they came back to you, marching with proud and victorious tread, reading their glory in a nation's eyes! Will you bear with me while I tell you of another army that sought its home at the close of the late war; an army that marched home in defeat and not in victory; 10 in pathos and not in splendor; but in glory that equalled yours, and to hearts as loving as ever welcomed heroes home? Let me picture to you the footsore Confederate soldier as, buttoning up in his faded gray jacket the parole which was to bear testimony to his children of 15 his fidelity and faith, he turned his face southward from Appomattox in April, 1865.

Think of him as—ragged, half-starved, heavy-hearted, enfeebled by want and wounds, having fought to exhaustion—he surrenders his gun, wrings the hands of 20 his comrades in silence, and lifting his tear-stained and pallid face for the last time to the graves that dot old Virginia hills, pulls his gray cap over his brow and begins the slow and painful journey. What does he find—let me ask you who went to your homes eager 25 to find, in the welcome you had justly earned, full payment for four years' sacrifice—what does he find when, having followed the battle-stained cross against overwhelming odds, dreading death not half so much as surrender, he reaches the home he left so prosperous 30 and beautiful?

He finds his house in ruins, his farm devastated, his slaves free, his stock killed, his barns empty, his trade destroyed, his money worthless, his social system, feudal

in its magnificence, swept away; his people without law or legal status, his comrades slain, and the burdens of others heavy on his shoulders. Crushed by defeat, his very traditions are gone. Without money, credit, 5 employment, material, or training; and besides all this confronted with the gravest problem that ever met human intelligence—the establishing of a status for the vast body of his liberated slaves.

What does he do—this hero in gray with a heart of 10 gold? Does he sit down in sullenness and despair? Not for a day. Surely God who had stripped him of his prosperity, inspired him in his adversity. As ruin was never before so overwhelming, never was restoration swifter. The soldier stepped from the trenches into 15 the furrow; horses that had charged Federal guns marched before the plow, and fields that ran red with human blood in April were green with the harvest in June; women reared in luxury cut up their dresses and made breeches for their husbands, and with a 20 patience and heroism that fit women always as a garment gave their hands to work. There was little bitterness in all this. Cheerfulness and frankness prevailed. “Bill Arp” struck the key-note when he said: “Well, I killed as many of them as they did of me, and now 25 I’m going to work.” Or the soldier returning home after defeat and roasting some corn on the roadside, who made the remark to his comrades: “You may leave the South if you want to, but I’m going to Sandersville, kiss my wife, and raise a crop, and if the Yankees 30 fool with me any more I’ll whip ’em again.”

I want to say to General Sherman,—who is considered an able man in our parts, though some people think he is a kind of careless man about fire,—that from the ashes he left us in 1864 we have raised a

brave and beautiful city; that somehow or other we have caught the sunshine in the bricks and mortar of our homes, and have builded therein not one ignoble prejudice or memory.

But what is the sum of our work? We have found 5 out that in the summing up the free negro counts more than he did as a slave. We have planted the school-house on the hilltop and made it free to white and black. We have sowed towns and cities in the place of theories, and put business above politics. We have 10 challenged your spinners in Massachusetts and your iron-makers in Pennsylvania. We have learned that the \$400,000,000 annually received from our cotton crop will make us rich when the supplies that make it are home-raised. We have reduced the commercial rate 15 of interest from twenty-four to six per cent, and are floating four per cent bonds.

We have learned that one Northern immigrant is worth fifty foreigners; and have smoothed the path to southward, wiped out the place where Mason and 20 Dixon's line used to be, and hung out our latch-string to you and yours. We have reached the point that marks perfect harmony in every household, when the husband confesses that the pies which his wife cooks are as good as those his mother used to bake; and we 25 admit that the sun shines as brightly and the moon as softly as it did before the war. We have established thrift in city and country. We have fallen in love with our work. We have restored comfort to homes from which culture and elegance never departed. We 30 have let economy take root and spread among us as rank as the crabgrass which sprung from Sherman's cavalry camps, until we are ready to lay odds on the Georgia Yankee—as he manufactures relics of the



battlefield in a one-story shanty and squeezes pure olive oil out of his cottonseed—against any Down-Easter that ever swapped wooden nutmegs for flannel sausage in the valleys of Vermont. Above all, we know that  
5 we have achieved in these “piping times of peace” a fuller independence for the South than that which our fathers sought to win in the forum by their eloquence, or compel in the field by their swords.

It is a rare privilege, sir, to have had part, however  
10 humble, in this work. Never was nobler duty confided to human hands than the uplifting and upbuilding of the prostrate and bleeding South—misguided, perhaps, but beautiful in her suffering, and honest, brave, and generous always. In the record of her social, industrial,  
15 and political illustrations we await with confidence the verdict of the world.

But what of the negro? Have we solved the problem he presents or progressed in honor and equity toward solution? Let the record speak to the point. No sec-  
20 tion shows a more prosperous laboring population than the negroes of the South, none in fuller sympathy with the employing and landowning class. He shares our school fund, has the fullest protection of our laws and the friendship of our people. Self-interest as well as  
25 honor demand that he should have this. Our future, our very existence, depend upon working out this problem in full and exact justice.

We understand that when Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, your victory was assured, for  
30 he then committed you to the cause of human liberty, against which the arms of man can not prevail; while those of our statesmen who trusted to make slavery the “corner-stone” of the Confederacy, doomed us to defeat as far as they could, committing us to a cause

that reason could not defend or the sword maintain in the sight of advancing civilization.

Had Mr. Toombs said (which he did not say) "that he would call the roll of his slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill," he would have been foolish, for he might 5 have known that whenever slavery became entangled in war it must perish, and that the chattel in human flesh ended forever in New England when your fathers—not to be blamed for parting with what didn't pay—sold their slaves to our fathers—not to be praised for 10 knowing a paying thing when they saw it.

The relations of the Southern people with the negro are close and cordial. We remember with what fidelity for four years he guarded our defenseless women and children, whose husbands and fathers were fighting 15 against his freedom. To his eternal credit be it said that whenever he struck a blow for his own liberty he fought in open battle, and when at last he raised his black and humble hands that the shackles might be struck off, those hands were innocent of wrong 20 against his helpless charges, and worthy to be taken in loving grasp by every man who honors loyalty and devotion.

Ruffians have maltreated him, rascals have misled him, philanthropists established a bank for him, but 25 the South, with the North, protests against injustice to this simple and sincere people. To liberty and enfranchisement is as far as law can carry the negro. The rest must be left to conscience and common sense. It must be left to those among whom his lot is cast, 30 with whom he is indissolubly connected, and whose prosperity depends upon their possessing his intelligent sympathy and confidence. Faith has been kept with him, in spite of calumnious assertions to the contrary

by those who assume to speak for us, or by frank opponents. Faith will be kept with him in the future, if the South holds her reason and integrity.

But have we kept faith with you? In the fullest  
5 sense, yes. When Lee surrendered—I don't say when Johnston surrendered, because I understand he still alludes to the time when he met General Sherman last as the time when he determined to abandon any further prosecution of the struggle; when Lee surrendered, I  
10 say, and Johnston *quit*, the South became, and has since been, loyal to this Union.

We fought hard enough to know that we were whipped, and in perfect frankness accept as final the arbitrament of the sword to which we had appealed.  
15 The South found her jewel in the toad's head of defeat. The shackles that had held her in narrow limitations fell forever when the shackles of the negro slave were broken. Under the old régime the negroes were slaves to the South; the South was a slave to the system. The  
20 old plantation, with its simple police regulations and feudal habit, was the only type possible under slavery. Thus was gathered in the hands of a splendid and chivalric oligarchy the substance that should have been diffused among the people,—as the rich blood, under  
25 certain artificial conditions, is gathered at the heart, filling that with affluent rapture, but leaving the body chill and colorless.

The Old South rested everything on slavery and agriculture, unconscious that these could neither give nor  
30 maintain healthy growth. The New South presents a perfect democracy, the oligarchs leading in the popular movement: a social system compact and closely knitted, less splendid on the surface, but stronger at the core; a hundred farms for every plantation, fifty homes for

every palace; and a diversified industry that meets the complex need of this complex age.

The New South is enamored of her new work. Her soul is stirred with the breath of a new life. The light of a grander day is falling fair on her face. She is thrilling with the consciousness of growing power and prosperity. As she stands upright, full statured and equal among the people of the earth, breathing the keen air and looking out upon the expanded horizon, she understands that her emancipation came because through the inscrutable wisdom of God her honest purpose was crossed, and her brave armies were beaten. 5

This is said in no spirit of time-serving or apology. The South has nothing for which to apologize. She believes that the late struggle between the States was war and not rebellion; revolution and not conspiracy; and that her convictions were as honest as yours. I should be unjust to the dauntless spirit of the South and to my own convictions if I did not make this plain in this presence. The South has nothing to take back. In my native town of Athens is a monument that crowns its central hill—a plain, white shaft. Deep cut into its shining side is a name dear to me above the names of men—that of a brave and simple man who died in a brave and simple faith. Not for all the glories of New England, from Plymouth Rock all the way, would I exchange the heritage he left me in his soldier's death. To the foot of that shaft I shall send my children's children to reverence him who ennobled their name with his heroic blood. But, sir, speaking from the shadow of that memory which I honor as I do nothing else on earth, I say that the cause in which he suffered and for which he gave his life was adjudged by higher and fuller wisdom than his or mine; and 20 25 30

I am glad that the omniscient God held the balance of battle in his Almighty hand, and that human slavery was swept forever from American soil—the American Union saved from the wreck of war.

5 This message, Mr. President, comes to you from consecrated ground. Every foot of soil about the city in which I live is as sacred as a battle-ground of the republic. Every hill that invests it is hallowed to you by the blood of your brothers who died for your  
10 victory, and doubly hallowed to us by the blood of those who died hopeless, but undaunted in defeat: sacred soil to all of us; rich with memories that make us purer and stronger and better; silent but staunch witnesses, in its red desolation, of the matchless valor  
15 of American hearts and the deathless glory of American arms; speaking an eloquent witness in its white peace and prosperity to the indissoluble union of American States and the imperishable brotherhood of the American people.

20 Now, what answer has New England to this message? Will she permit the prejudice of war to remain in the hearts of the conquerors when it has died in the hearts of the conquered? Will she transmit this prejudice to the next generation, that in their hearts—which never  
25 felt the generous ardor of conflict—it may perpetuate itself? Will she withhold, save in strained courtesy, the hand which straight from his soldier's heart Grant offered to Lee at Appomattox? Will she make the vision of a restored and happy people, which gathered  
30 above the couch of your dying captain—filling his heart with grace, touching his lips with praise, and glorifying his path to the grave—will she make this vision on which the last sigh of his expiring soul breathed a benediction, a cheat and delusion? If she does, the

South, never abject in asking for comradeship, must accept with dignity its refusal; but if she does not refuse to accept in frankness and sincerity this message of good will and friendship, then will the prophecy of Webster, delivered in this very Society forty years 5 ago amid tremendous applause, become true, be verified in its fullest sense, when he said: "Standing hand to hand and clasping hands, we should remain united as we have been for sixty years, citizens of the same country, members of the same government, united, all 10 united now and united forever." There have been difficulties, contentions, and controversies, but I tell you that in my judgment—

"Those opposed eyes,  
Which, like the meteors of a troubled heaven,  
All of one nature, of one substance bred,  
Did lately meet in the intestine shock  
And furious close of civil butchery,  
Shall now, in mutual well-beseeming ranks,  
March all one way."

15

## JOHN MARSHALL

W. BOURKE COCKRAN

Delivered at Buffalo, Feb. 14, 1901.

If there be any one capable of disputing that, aside from the establishment of Christianity, the foundation of this republic was the most memorable event in the history of man, we would not be apt to seek him at  
5 this board or to find him in this country. And if the foundation of this government be the most momentous human achievement of all the centuries, then clearly the appointment of John Marshall to the Chief Justice-  
ship of the United States was the first event of the last  
10 century no less in the magnitude of its importance than in the order of its occurrence.

To the judicial career whose initial stage we celebrate this country mainly owes its independent judiciary—the unique feature of our political system—the  
15 distinctive contribution of American democracy to the civilization of the world—the vital principle of constitutional freedom—on which depend the strength which this government possesses, the fruit which it has borne, the cloudless prospect which it enjoys.

20 It is certainly beyond dispute that this government, which is the freest, is also the most stable in the world. During the period of its existence what changes have swept over the earth, what upheavals have convulsed society; what dynasties have been established and over-  
25 thrown; what empires have risen and fallen; what political enterprises have been undertaken and abandoned;

what constitutions framed in high hopes have perished in disappointment and confusion! It has seen the Whig oligarchy, which ruled England for a century and a half, give place to a republic preserving the outward form of monarchy only to veil the democratic character of its evolution. It has seen the king who aided these colonies to achieve their liberty immolated on the scaffold in the name of liberty, and France, after staggering through anarchy to military despotism, sink back into monarchy; and after again overturning thrones and stumbling once more into imperialism, while groping towards republicanism engage in a third attempt to establish some form of constitutional freedom.

It has seen Prussia rise from the ashes of defeat and humiliation, and after humbling the pride of the Hapsburgs assume the military primacy of Europe when her king, raised to imperial dignity on the bucklers of his triumphant soldiery, proclaimed a new empire of Germany in the conquered halls of Louis the Magnificent. It has seen the Republic of Venice perish in its age and decay; the German principalities disappear from the banks of the Rhine; the ancient city of Leo and of Gregory become the capital of a new kingdom, and Spain begin to recover in the cultivation of her own lands the prosperity which she sacrificed in attempts to conquer other lands. It has seen the veil of darkness and ignorance rent in the East. As I speak, it sees the forces of Western civilization standing in the battered gateways of Far Cathay. And through all these changes, convulsions, revolutions, this republic stands to-day, as it went into operation one hundred and twelve years ago, unchanged in any of its essential features, except that its foundations have sunk deeper in the affections of the people whose security it has



maintained, whose prosperity it has promoted, whose condition it has blessed.

To what must we attribute this stability which has maintained our government unmoved and apparently  
5 immovable on solid foundations amid the upheavals which have engulfed ancient systems? It is not explained by the lofty purpose which animated its founders, because other governments conceived in equally high aspirations have perished at the first attempt to  
10 put them in practical operation. It is not because it rests on a written Constitution, for the pathway of man is strewn with the wrecks of constitutional experiments. It is not because our Constitution declares certain elementary rights of man to be inviolable. Its  
15 provisions in this respect were modeled on existing institutions. Their very language was not original. In terms as well as in substance they were borrowed from other charters of liberty. The French Constitution of 1793 and the declaration of the rights of man, which  
20 was made a part of it, contained even more elaborate provisions for the safety of the individual. But while the French Constitution was munificent in its promises of privileges to the citizen, the means which it adopted to secure them were inadequate and indeed puerile.  
25 You remember how that remarkable document sought to enforce its provisions by directing the constitution to be "written upon tablets and placed in the midst of the legislative body and in public places," that in the language of the Declaration "the people may always  
30 have before its eyes the fundamental pillars of its liberty and strength, and the authorities the standard of their duties, and the legislator the object of his problem." The Constitution was placed "under the guarantee of all the virtues," and the Declaration concluded

by solemnly enacting that "resistance to oppression is the inference from the other rights of man. It is oppression of the whole society if but one of its members be oppressed. When government violates the rights of the people, insurrection of the people and of every single part of it is the most sacred of its rights and the highest of its duties."

The framers of that Constitution made the fatal mistake of assuming that to declare certain privileges the right of the citizen was equivalent to placing them in his possession. In practical operation, however, it was soon found that the sacred right of insurrection was too unwieldy a weapon to be wielded by a single arm. "All the virtues" proved but indifferent guardians for a Constitution assailed by all the passions. A mob thirsting for the blood of a victim did not pause to read the measure of his rights on tablets, however legibly inscribed or conspicuously posted. The legislator menaced by an infuriated populace did not hesitate to seek his own security in the sacrifice of the lives of thousands without regard to "the object of his problem." The Constitution written with so much care, acclaimed with so much enthusiasm, adopted with so much hope, was suspended even before it went into operation. And when on the trial of Danton a decree was passed authorizing juries to declare themselves satisfied of the guilt of persons accused, at any stage of the proceedings against them, the last barrier for the protection of the citizen was swept away. Frenzied patriots and plotting demagogues combined to produce a wild reign of terror—a saturnalia of assassination. Violence became synonymous with patriotism; to be accused was to be condemned; to refuse participation in murder was to become its victim; the guillotine

became the altar of popular sovereignty—exacting human sacrifices in ghastly abundance; the blood of the best and of the worst; of the most patriotic and of the most disaffected; of the philanthropic dreamer and of  
5 the brutal cutthroat; of both sexes, of every age, and of all conditions, drenched the soil of France—not as the stern ransom of liberty, but as a mad libation to anarchy and riot. The Constitution founded to protect the rights of man perished miserably after violating  
10 all of them, and republican institutions became discredited throughout Europe for a century.

The distinction between our republic and all others—which has made it a bulwark of liberty and order, while they have generally become engines of oppression  
15 and sources of confusion—is not in the varied extent of privileges promised by them, but in the different means which they provide for their enforcement. Our Constitution was not committed to the “care of all the virtues,” but to the courage, wisdom and patriotism of  
20 an independent judiciary. The whole security of our political system rests primarily on Article III of the Constitution, which provides that the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as Congress may from time  
25 to time ordain and establish; and that the judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States and treaties made under their authority; to controversies between two or more States, between a State  
30 and citizens of another State, and between citizens of different States. This is the corner-stone of our political structure, but not the force which secures this government firmly on its foundations. The experience of France, and indeed of this country, shows that con-

stitutional provisions of themselves are but mere admonitions, always disregarded in practice unless adequate instrumentalities are provided to enforce them. The actual character of a constitutional government depends less on the words of its Constitution than on 5 the interpretation which they receive. It was not the Constitution as drawn up by its framers, but the Constitution as interpreted by its judges, which the greatest Englishman of modern times described as the most perfect work ever struck off at a given time by the 10 mind of man. Marshall found a plan, he placed it in effective operation; he found certain declarations in favor of individual safety, he made them the panoply of individual rights; he found a written Constitution, he made it a constitutional government. 15

In fixing the credit due to Marshall's judicial career it is not necessary to belittle the wisdom and foresight of the men who wrote the Constitution. No structure can be stronger than its foundation. John Marshall could never have raised the Supreme Court from the 20 weakness in which he found it to the power and majesty in which he left it if the Constitution had not afforded him an adequate field for the fullest exercise of his constructive genius. It would be superfluous, in this presence, to discuss or even to mention the long series 25 of decisions through which he made the promises of freedom embraced in the Constitution actual possessions of the American people. It is enough to say that during his judicial service of thirty-four years in deciding many controversies arising in every part of the 30 Union he succeeded in establishing four great principles which underlie our whole constitutional system and which constitute its main support:

First—The supremacy of the National Government over the States and all their inhabitants.

Second—The supremacy of the Constitution over every department of government.

5 Third—The absolute freedom of trade and intercourse between all the States.

Fourth—The inviolability of private contracts.

It is true that these principles are now regarded as axioms of civilized society too obvious to be questioned  
10 in a nation capable of constitutional government, but the universal respect in which they are held is entirely due to the courage, resolution and ability with which Marshall asserted and maintained them. If no attempt to violate them had ever been made by the States or by  
15 Congress, no occasion would have arisen for the decisions which vindicate them so clearly that no respectable authority can now be found to challenge them. It is true, as the distinguished chairman of this banquet says, that the supremacy of the Constitution over Con-  
20 gress and the Executive was asserted by Judge Paterson in a charge to a jury delivered long before Marshall assumed the ermine. It is equally true that at a still earlier period—in 1788—Alexander Hamilton devoted a number of the Federalist—I think it was the 78th—  
25 to proving that it was the right and duty of the judiciary to set aside a law which contravened the Constitution. Indeed, I believe the principle had been asserted in some of the colonies before the Revolution. But, Mr. Chairman, there is nothing new under the sun.  
30 Marshall did not discover or establish any new principle of liberty, nor did this Constitution embrace one, but Marshall did devise an effective plan for making declarations of ancient principles practical features of civil government. Man can no more invent a new

principle than he can invent a new force. The limit of human ingenuity is exhausted when new devices are found for utilizing forces which are eternal. The force which moves the steam engine existed since the beginning of the world, but it never was available for the use of man till Watt devised an effective machine. Liberty was always an aspiration to cherish, but never till Marshall made this Constitution effective did liberty become a possession to enjoy.

Marshall brought to the interpretation of the Constitution the love of a patriot, the wisdom of a statesman, and the ardor of a partisan. He had followed the debates of its framers in Philadelphia; he had successfully urged its adoption in the Virginia Convention against the eloquence and overshadowing authority of Patrick Henry. Every peril which it escaped in the progress of its evolution, every criticism of its provisions, every apprehension expressed of its operations, were signal lights, warning him of dangers which threatened it and suggesting possibilities of further development which in after years he improved to the utmost.

In the very general disposition to treat the Constitution as a mere treaty between independent sovereignties which might be disregarded at pleasure by any of them he discerned a danger against which he warned his countrymen from the judgment seat almost as soon as he ascended it. From 1804 in the cases of the United States against Fisher to the last day of his service he never missed an opportunity to assert the supremacy of the Federal Government on all matters committed to it by the Constitution as the vital principle of our national existence, nor to show by irresistible logic that to question its sovereignty was to plot its destruction.

This was the doctrine on which patriots always supported the Union—for which Webster contended in the Senate—for which armies battled during four long years, and which was finally affirmed on the battlefield  
5 when the sword of the Confederacy was surrendered to the triumphant forces of the republic.

In the opposition expressed in the Philadelphia Convention to establishing United States courts of inferior jurisdiction and in the suggestion that the enforcement  
10 of the Federal Constitution and laws should be confided to the State courts, he detected a disposition to emasculate the Federal judiciary by making it a body without limbs, and when occasion arose in 1809 he issued that *mandamus* to Judge Peters which made the  
15 subordinate courts of the United States the vigorous and effective hands of the Constitution—enforcing its provisions in every locality—bringing the Federal law to the doorway of the citizen—maintaining the supremacy of the United States in every square foot of  
20 their territory—without interfering with the power of the State to deal with matters concerning itself and its own citizens, except to administer its justice according to its own laws when they were invoked by a stranger against a resident. And when in the subsequent case  
25 of Hunter's Lessee he established the right of the Supreme Court to review any proceedings of a State tribunal which involved a question arising under the laws or Constitution of the United States, he converted the State courts from possible obstacles to Federal  
30 authority into additional agencies for the enforcement of Federal laws.

In the proposal so strongly urged in the Philadelphia Convention to empower the judges of the Supreme Court to advise the legislative and the executive depart-

ments in the discharge of their functions he detected an apprehension that under a republican form of government parliamentary bodies and executive officers might be carried to excesses by violent gusts of popular opinion, and in the case of *Marbury against Madison* 5 he quieted that distrust forever by assuming for the judiciary the right and the duty to enforce the Constitution against any attempt to invade it by any other department, or by all the other departments of government combined, on the complaint of any citizen 10 whose rights might be imperiled by the encroachment.

Freedom of trade between the States was secured when in *Gibbons against Ogden* the jurisdiction of the Federal Government was established over the navigable waters of the United States, whether inland rivers or 15 harbors of the sea, and when in the subsequent case of *Brown against the State of Maryland*—which might be called the original “original package case”—it was held that the State had no power to impose any tax or duty by way of license or other pretext upon the 20 products of other States seeking access to its markets. To these and the subsequent decisions constituting the body of law governing interstate commerce we are indebted for the profound peace which reigns between the States; for if one State had been allowed to impose 25 discriminations in matters of trade or communication against the citizens of another, each imposition would have been followed by reprisals leading in turn to fresh retaliatory measures, until a state of commercial war would have been the normal relation between all the 30 States. It is the history of humanity that a conflict of interests is usually followed by a conflict of arms.

The *Dartmouth College* case, which established the inviolability of contracts, was an industrial bill of rights



to the people of this country. It has proved the very fountain of the prosperity which they have achieved and of the greater prosperity which awaits them.

It is surely unnecessary to argue in this presence  
5 that on the sacredness of contracts depends the industrial co-operation of man, and co-operation is the mainspring of industry. For who would work and toil unless he felt that he could exchange the product of his labor against the commodities produced by the  
10 labor of others upon conditions of his own making? Who would sow a field, or turn a single furrow with the plow, or swing a pickaxe in the bowels of the earth, or shiver to-night upon the front platform of a street car, if he doubted the payment of the wages  
15 which he had contracted to receive, or if he did not know that other men are producing the shoes, and the clothes, and the food essential to his existence and which they will gladly exchange for the proceeds of his wages pursuant to contracts freely made between them?

20 While the whole industrial activity of man depends upon his belief in the fulfillment of contracts, there is often a strong tendency in legislatures and governments to repudiate debts or obstruct their collection. When, therefore, Marshall placed the obligation of contracts  
25 beyond the power of any State to disturb, he made the industry of this country the most prosperous in the world by making its fruits the most secure.

If I were to summarize Marshall's service I should say that on the solid foundation of the Constitution he  
30 made power, justice, peace and prosperity the four great pillars of our governmental system—power by establishing the sovereignty of the General Government over the States, thus making it the strongest nation in the world; justice by establishing the dominion of the

Constitution over all the departments of government; peace by establishing freedom of intercourse between all the States; prosperity by establishing the inviolability of private contracts. The decisions of Marshall's successors, without disturbing these pillars, have 5 strengthened them, and the stately fabric of government which they support.

The stability of the Union has been secured as much by forbearance in refusing to exercise powers not properly belonging to it as by firmness in enforcing those 10 essential to its existence. The inviolability of contracts has not been allowed to pervert franchises granted for the public convenience into monopolies beyond the power of the State to control. The right of every citizen to trade, move or labor everywhere throughout the 15 whole territory of the United States on equal terms with all others has not been allowed to interfere with the right of each State to protect health, order and morals within its limits—the only restriction on its police power being the requirement that every exercise 20 of it must apply equally to citizen and stranger under its jurisdiction.

It is perhaps the most extraordinary feature of our political system as it is the most impressive tribute to Marshall's genius that the power of the judiciary—now 25 unquestioned—to fix the limits of its own authority and the authority of all other departments rests not upon any specific provision of the Constitution, but on a principle of construction first announced authoritatively in the case of Marbury against Madison. The 30 approval bestowed on that momentous decision and on every subsequent amplification of its doctrine has been so universal that the judicial department has been encouraged to extend the buckler of its authority over an

ever-widening field, until it has become the dominant force in our national life—the one element which through all our existence has steadily grown in power and beneficence. Never has the Supreme Court exercised its supreme power of setting aside a law of Congress, or of a State that the people did not sustain its course with substantial unanimity. With the exception of the Eleventh Amendment, there is not in the history of the United States, or of any State, a single instance in which the people consented to a constitutional provision limiting the power of the judiciary, while the tendency everywhere has always been to enlarge it. While this respect for the judiciary remains a conspicuous feature of our national life no peril to our institutions can ever become serious.

It is often said, and I think with truth, that the close of the nineteenth century witnessed a decline in the popularity of those parliamentary institutions which, at its beginning, were universally believed to be the sure panacea for all social or economic ills. In France, in Austria, in Italy and in Spain legislative chambers have sunk into universal contempt. Even in England the House of Commons has so far declined in popular respect that the House of Lords now assumes to reject its measures without fear of popular condemnation. In the present temper of the English people, if Edward VII. were possessed of real abilities, he might be able to impose his authority on both houses. If, for instance, he were to lift his voice now for justice to the Boers and denounce the South African war as a conscienceless manoeuvre of parliamentary politicians for political advantage, I believe that the conscience of the country would sustain him, as I know the public opinion of the world would applaud him, and Parliament

would very probably be compelled to follow him. It would need but a few such exercises of leadership to make his authority permanent over both houses, for obedience is largely habit. Indeed, it is by no means impossible that the importance of the Crown, which began to decline after the death of Elizabeth, may begin to revive after the death of Victoria. In this country, representative bodies have not escaped the disrepute which has overtaken them in other lands. With us corruption is sometimes attributed to Congress, quite generally to State legislatures, universally to municipal councils. But in our government there is one department untainted by any breath of suspicion, to which the people are so passionately attached that the slightest attempt to disturb its independence or even to review its decisions at the ballot box would be the ruin of the political party suggesting it. Where Parliament is supreme, corruption of legislative bodies undermines the life of the whole State, for when the omnipotent source of power itself becomes corrupt, all the streams which flow from it must be tainted, and laws springing from greed are sure to be administered for the plunder and oppression of the people. Under such conditions industry languishes, prosperity withers, civilization itself is imperiled. But under our democratic government the right of the citizen to come and go as he pleases, the right to enjoy his property, to exchange the product of his industry against the commodities produced by others, depend not upon the honesty of the legislature, or the loyalty of the executive, but upon the virtue and independence of the judiciary. If corruption exists in this country it can only affect the bestowal of favors by the government, it cannot endanger the life, liberty or property of a single individual. There may be par-

tiality—corruption, if you will—in the bestowal of public franchises, of public offices and of public contracts, but while there is none in the administration of justice, while the courts remain true to the example  
5 and precepts of Marshall, all the essential rights of the citizen are as secure as the earth under his feet—they can no more be invaded than the stars in heaven can be blotted from his gaze.

One hundred years after the establishment of our  
10 Constitution what purpose expressed in its preamble remains to be accomplished—what hope cherished by its framers is unfulfilled? I know of none. Look around you and tell me if this be an idle boast. Has not the Union been made perfect through the wisdom  
15 of the great magistrate who showed its necessity and the blood of the heroes who cemented it? Is not justice firmly established by the unquestioned dominion of the Constitution? Is not domestic tranquillity absolutely insured since perfect freedom of intercourse and  
20 trade removes all provocation to hostile acts or feelings between the States? Is not the common defense abundantly provided for by the overwhelming strength of a populous nation whose every inhabitant would die for the integrity of its soil and the glory of its flag? Has  
25 not the general welfare been promoted beyond the wildest hopes of the fathers since the security of property encourages industry to wring measureless abundance from a fruitful soil? Are not the blessings of liberty secured for ourselves and our posterity beyond fear of  
30 invasion or danger of abridgment by the effective protection which the judiciary casts over the essential rights of every citizen?

But the authors of this Constitution, in framing Article III, builded even wiser than they knew. At this

moment the court is considering the gravest question ever submitted to a judicial tribunal in the history of mankind. Within a few days it must decide whether the Government of the United States, or rather whether two of its departments, can govern territory anywhere 5 by the sword, or whether authority exercised by officers of the United States must be controlled and limited everywhere by the Constitution of the United States.

I do not mention this momentous question to express the slightest opinion upon its merits, but merely that 10 this assemblage of judges and of lawyers may realize the part which the judiciary is now required to play in determining the influence which this country must exercise forevermore in the family of nations. The power of Congress to acquire territory is of course un- 15 questioned, but the disposition to exercise that power will always be controlled by the conditions under which newly-acquired territory must be held, and these conditions the court must now prescribe. On the one hand it may hold that wherever power is exercised under the 20 Constitution there the limitations of the Constitution must be obeyed—that wherever the Executive undertakes to administer, or Congress to legislate, there the judiciary must enforce upon both respect for the organic law to which they owe their existence. If this 25 doctrine be established it is clear that no scheme of forcible conquest will ever be undertaken by this government, for the simple reason that there can be no profit in such an enterprise. On the other hand the court may decide that Congress can hold newly-annexed 30 territories on any terms that it chooses—that it may govern them according to the Constitution or independently of it—that they may be administered to establish justice among the governed or for the glory

and profit of the governors. If it be held that government for profit can be maintained under the authority of the United States, conceive the extent to which it may be carried and the consequences which it may portend. If it be possible to maintain two forms of government under our Constitution, it is possible to establish twenty in as many different places. Territory may be annexed to the North, to the South, to the East and to the West. The President of the United States may be vested with imperial powers in one place, with royal prerogatives in another, and perhaps remain a constitutional magistrate at home. He may be made a military autocrat in some South American state, an anointed emperor in some Northern clime, a turbaned sultan in some Eastern island. Nay, more, Congress can move itself and the seat of government from Washington to some newly-annexed territory governed by officers of its own creation, subject to its own unlimited power, and thus take both outside the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

Has the world ever before seen—could the framers of the Constitution have conceived—a bench of judges exercising such a power amid the universal submission and approval of the whole people. And more extraordinary than all, this submission remains unanimous though the decision of the court may seriously affect its own position in the structure of our government. For if it be held that the Constitution does not extend of itself over newly-annexed territory, then clearly the authority of the court cannot extend to it except by the action of Congress and the Executive. If the authority, that is to say, the existence of the court in any part of the territory of the United States, depends upon the other departments, then it is idle to contend that it is an

independent and co-ordinate branch of the government. To decide that the executive and legislative departments have the right to govern territory outside the Constitution the court must deliberately renounce the importance which it has heretofore enjoyed and accept for 5 itself an inferior place in our political system.

To me this is the most sublime spectacle ever presented in the history of the world. Think of it! A war has been waged with signal success, vast territory has been exacted from a conquered foe; a great po- 10 litical campaign has been fought and won upon the policy of taking this territory and governing it at the pleasure of Congress and the Executive, yet if the court should hold that what the Executive has attempted, what Congress has sanctioned, and what the people 15 appear to have approved at the polls is in contravention of the Constitution, not one voice would be raised to question the judgment or to resist its enforcement. I have said the spectacle is sublime; my friends, even a few weeks ago it was inconceivable. Before the late 20 election I confess I believed and said that the success of the present administration would be interpreted as a popular indorsement of its foreign policy and that the popular verdict would very probably be made to exercise a strong if not decisive influence on the court. I 25 admit now that I was mistaken. It is evident that this question will be decided on its merits without the slightest attempt to coerce, intimidate or influence the judges, and I say now with all frankness that whatever may be the judgment it will be the very best outcome for the 30 people of this country, for the peace of the world, for the welfare of the human race.

I cannot tell what this outcome may be, but I know that whenever a crisis has arisen in the pathway of the



republic, the statesmanship of the common people has always met it with justice and solved it with wisdom. Before the close of the civil war, who that paid attention to the utterances of journalists, politicians and publicists—who that heard the famous declaration that treason must be made odious; or read the journalistic demand for punishments disguised under pleas for precautions against any renewal of rebellion; or listened to the popular songs proclaiming a firm purpose to “hang Jeff Davis on a sour apple tree,” could have realized that peace would be restored without the infliction of a single penalty or the exaction of a single sacrifice—that the pacification of the country would be accomplished by pardon and not by punishment—and that five years after the end of the conflict the reconciliation of the combatants would be so perfect that victors and vanquished would alike rejoice at the result? And so, my friends, while no man can predict the solution of the question which now perplexes this government and this people, the whole history of the United States forbids us to fear that it will prove an insuperable obstacle to the progress of liberty, but commands us to believe firmly and implicitly that it will become a stepping-stone to higher achievements from which, under the Providence of God and the wisdom of the judiciary, this republic will diffuse the light of justice still more widely throughout the world.

I have nothing to recant of what I said on the hustings; no apology to make for my course during the last election. Under similar circumstances my words and my actions would again be the same; yet, if the court decides now, as I hope it will, that the Constitution and the Flag are inseparable; that where one waves the other must govern, then, indeed, am I prepared to admit

freely and cheerfully that the people in deciding as they did were wiser than if they had followed my advice. For, from my point of view, it will clearly be better for the peace of the world and for the happiness of mankind if it be established now that the American people can never violate justice anywhere than if it had been decided at the ballot box last November that this generation of Americans had no disposition to perpetrate a single act of injustice in the Eastern seas.

When this momentous question shall have been decided, when this great service shall have been rendered to civilization, will the American judiciary have fulfilled its mission as an independent department of government? Shall the judges hereafter be the mere arbiters of private disputes? Will they no longer be required to display that constructive capacity, that judicial statesmanship which has proved the safety of our Government by fixing the limitations within which its power is absolute, beyond which it may not pass? Great as have been the services which the American Judiciary have rendered already to civilization, I do not believe, my friends, that the wisest man can measure the contributions which it will make to the science of government in the years that are to come. What is the purpose of government? I believe it was Lord Brougham who said that the English government with all its ramifications, its king and its officers of state, its Houses of Parliament and its courts of justice, its lords, its commons, and its judges, its armies and its navies, all culminated in bringing twelve good men into the jury box. That statement is striking and original, but inadequate. The jury is but an incident,—perhaps the most important incident,—but still merely an incident of government,—not its ultimate object. The ulti-

mate aim and purpose of government is to promote the effective cultivation of the earth that by an increase in the volume of its product the number of human beings may be multiplied that can be supported upon its surface. The first essential of abundant production is the  
5 preservation of peace.

The American judiciary has been the most effective agency ever evolved from human wisdom for the vindication of justice, and justice is the only reliable foundation of peace. By establishing peace among the States  
10 it has obviated the necessity for standing armies and increased immeasurably our national prosperity by directing every pair of human hands to the productive employments of industry, diverting none to the destructive and  
15 wasteful enterprises of war. Never has a population increased so rapidly while every increase in the number of men has been attended by a still greater increase in their possessions. The gloomy theory of Malthus that the tendency of population was to grow more rapidly than  
20 the supply of food, and therefore that war, pestilence, famine and vice as checks to population were inevitable conditions of human life has been refuted and exploded by the experience of this country. We have established  
beyond all doubt that the food supply of the earth is  
25 not a limited quantity, but is capable of measureless increase—that the earth is not an unnatural mother producing creatures beyond her capacity to support, but a generous mother ready to yield abundant subsistence to every human being engendered upon her bosom, if men  
30 will but approach that fountain of sustenance in peace and industrial co-operation. Here at least every man produces more than he consumes, and as his surplus product goes into the common fund, it widens the field of employment for others. Every addition to our popu-

lation instead of being an additional charge upon a limited food supply is a source of additional abundance. If there be any limit on the power of the soil to support human beings it is imposed by the wickedness or folly of men, not by the parsimony of nature. To support a 5 population however large, growing in prosperity as it grows in numbers, it is only necessary that all men shall be allowed to approach the earth in peace, to exercise all their faculties in its cultivation, without wasting any of their energies in mutual conflict. As our popu- 10 lation grows the comforts of our citizens grow; their houses are larger, their clothing is warmer, their food is more abundant, their books are of higher merit, their schools are more extensive, their hospitals are more efficient, the productive power of their hands is multi- 15 plied, and the horizon of their hopes is widened.

The dangers to peace do not all spring from foreign aggression, nor are they confined to domestic insurrections. A new peril has arisen to disturb industry born of the prosperity which it creates. The division of the 20 earth's product among the laborers who create it has provoked conflicts as bitter as any that ever arose over the division of the earth's surface among the nations which inhabit it. Industrial disturbances cannot be settled by force or by mere enactment of statute laws. 25 Between individuals as between states, peace can never be permanent unless it is built upon justice. By ascertaining the true economic laws governing the relations of men engaged in production, and by applying them fearlessly and impartially to controversies as they arise, 30 the crowning service of the judiciary will be rendered—the final triumph of judicial statesmanship will be achieved. I have no fear that this consummation is impossible or even remote. Looking back over the his-

tory of this country I cannot entertain a doubt of its security or of its future. While the judicial department remains the depositary of our rights and liberties—the ark of our political covenant—while the courts  
5 remain the inviolable sanctuary of justice, the Constitution will remain the secure foundation of the principles established by Marshall, and this government will continue to be the temple of freedom, the bulwark of order, the light of progress, the supreme monument of  
10 what man has achieved, the inspiring promise of the boundless future that awaits him.

## PATRIOTISM AND INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD

A baccalaureate address delivered at the University of Michigan June 23, 1896

BY JAMES B. ANGELL, LL.D.

In his great address on Mars Hill, St. Paul declared that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men," and also that He "hath determined the bounds of their habitation."

The brotherhood and the separateness of nations are thus clearly set forth as of divine appointment. If they are so, they must be compatible with each other. It must be possible and right for nations to lead each a separate life, and yet to live in brotherly relations. There must then be some proper way of cherishing the sentiment of patriotism and at the same time a brotherly regard for mankind.

We profess, as individuals and as a nation, to be governed by the principles of Christian ethics. We are all agreed that patriotism is so commendable a virtue that we despise, if we do not hate, a citizen who is devoid of it. We are all agreed that our nation, if it is to be respected by others or by us, must maintain its rights with dignity and self-respect.

While our country cherishes this spirit of manly independence, what attitude should it hold toward other countries? What spirit should we cherish toward other peoples? What relations should we aim to hold with them? These are questions which it seems proper that

you should consider in a spirit at once Christian and patriotic, as you are about to go forth into active life, where you will play an important part in shaping public opinion. I believe it is not unbecoming the day or the  
5 occasion that answer to them should be sought in the spirit of devotion to our country, of love to our race, and of reverence to the Father of nations.

Perhaps at the outset we should ask whether it really is possible for us to cherish the sentiment of patriotism  
10 and at the same time the spirit of brotherhood towards the citizens of other nations. Some distinguished writers, like the Russian, Count Tolstoi, have maintained that the spirit of brotherhood ought to overpower and drown out the feeling of special devotion to  
15 one's own country. That eminent author goes so far as to say: "If patriotism is good, then Christianity, which gives peace, is an empty dream." There is a story that the great and good Fénelon once said: "I love my family better than myself; I love my country better  
20 than my family; but I love the human race better than my country." The parable of the good Samaritan has been cited as condemning patriotism. No doubt that wonderful parable, which more than almost any other teaching of Christ, shows the extraordinary reach of  
25 his mind beyond the prevalent ideas of his day, does bid us regard the remotest dweller on the other side of the earth as our neighbor, and commands us to do what we may for his help.

But, after all, we cannot forget that God has set us  
30 first in families, then in nations. Our primary relations to our families are necessarily closer than our relations to the race. We may, however, find it our duty in the spirit of Fénelon's words, to tear ourselves away from our families and give our services and lives to our

nation. We may find it our duty, like many missionaries, to tear ourselves away both from family and nation, to give our services and lives to mankind. It is obvious that the tenderest love for our families may co-exist with genuine love for our country, and the most ardent patriotism may not divest us of genuine love for our race. The contradiction which Tolstoi sees between patriotism and Christianity does not necessarily exist. They are not exclusive of each other.

Duties grow out of relations and are correlative with them. Our relations as children to our parents impose on us filial duties. God having set men in nations, the citizens of each nation owe special duties to each other and to their country. These are patriotic duties. So, too, each nation, our nation, must watch and work with special interest for its own welfare, while it cherishes a proper interest in the well-being of all mankind, and carefully abstains from injustice to any nation. Such a course is no more to be criticised as selfish than is the devotion by a man of his time and efforts to the support and well-being of his own family or of himself.

Providentially we are so situated that it has been easy for us, with a genuine patriotism, to develop our resources and to attend to our own affairs without much complication with the great powers of the world, and without cherishing sharp animosities toward them. None of the states south of us have been strong enough to be a menace to us. The ocean has been our great bulwark against encroachments from the east. From the moment that we escaped in 1798 from an entangling alliance with France, we have, with a wise instinct, obeyed the counsel of Washington to avoid any such alliance with transatlantic powers. All their dynastic disputes, their questions of balance of power,



their quarrels about title to territory, their envyings and jealousies, which have compelled them to weigh themselves down with taxation for the support of great standing armies and immense navies, and have often involved them in dreadful wars, have not much concerned us and have given us no serious trouble. Their populations, sighing for our lives of peace and prosperity, have been hurrying by hundreds of thousands yearly to our shores to share in our comfort and happiness. However eagerly any one of the European nations may be watching to catch another at some disadvantage and fall upon it in war, not one of them desires aught but peace with us. More than once some of them have settled disputes with us by peaceful methods, which they could hardly have settled with each other save by war. It would, therefore, seem to be both wise and easy to continue our traditional policy of refraining from any part in purely European controversies, and to content ourselves with securing a just settlement of questions which grow directly out of our commercial intercourse with them.

On the other hand, there was a rational ground for the satisfaction with which we saw France, Spain and Portugal withdraw from the American continent. Especially were we constantly menaced with serious trouble with Spain so long as her territory touched ours. Though the Latin-American races, who inhabit the domain which stretches from our southern border to Cape Horn, have yet much to learn about the just administration of republican forms of government, it is, in my opinion, a wise policy for our government to discourage the acquisition by European powers of any more territory on our continent than they now possess. If they are permitted to begin the carving up of the Cen-

tral and South American states according to the process by which they are grabbing all the most desirable territory of the African continent, we shall be in danger of having European controversies, from which we have kept aloof, transferred to our own neighborhood. There 5 seems to be no indication that any European power is inclined to absorb any of the states of Central or South America, or would venture to do so, in the face of our strenuous protest.

There appears, therefore, every reason to hope that if 10 we pursue a policy of moderation, justice and firmness towards other nations, without being drawn into European entanglements or indulging in gratuitous exasperations of other powers, we may be left undisturbed in the enjoyment of peace and prosperity. 15

But it is too much to expect that questions will not arise from time to time—many of them serious and difficult questions—between us and other nations. We have of late years had several such problems, especially in our relations with Great Britain. War, according to 20 modern methods, is such a dreadful calamity that recently attention has been called afresh to the inquiry whether we may not make provisions with some nations, if not with many nations, for the establishment of an international court, to which difficulties that cannot be 25 adjusted by the ordinary processes of diplomacy, may be referred for settlement.

It is conceded on all hands that this nation is most happily situated to take the lead in so beneficent a movement. Our geographical isolation frees us from many 30 embarrassments which a European continental power might encounter in taking the initiative. We have already been conspicuous in our efforts to diminish and to avoid the evils of war. We were the first to empha-

size the rights and duties of neutrals. We have already been engaged in more than four score arbitrations, two of which, that of the Geneva Tribunal for the settlement of the Alabama cases, and that of the Paris Tribunal for the adjustment of the Behring sea question, are the most famous and important in history. We can afford to propose a system of arbitration to the world just because we are strong. Our motives are not likely to be misinterpreted. Conscious that no nation would presume to attack us for slight cause, we can with dignity and self-respect commend to all nations the peaceful method of settling controversies.

The events of our great civil war and its happy termination in the preservation of the union have left two marked results on the spirit of our people.

First. It has caused a great strengthening of the national feeling. A new and profound interest in our history has been developed. This is shown by the organization of historical societies, and by the new activity of old societies, by the publication of numerous books on our national career, and by the establishment of various associations of the descendants of the revolutionary or pre-revolutionary men. A most commendable national pride manifests itself in a thousand ways.

And, secondly, the nation has risen to a new consciousness of its military strength. After setting on foot the immense armies maintained by the union and confederate parties during our war, and carrying on the contest on such a grand scale for four long years, with a valor and endurance never surpassed, it is not strange that we should regard ourselves as one of the great military states of the world.

Commendable as is this pride in our history, and justifiable as is this confidence in our martial strength,

they expose us to some dangers from the spirit they engender in persons of a certain aggressive and testy temperament. Instead of cherishing a calm and dignified sense of national power, which is sure that we can, without bluster or unnecessary sensitiveness at every idle 5 word that is flung at us, make ourselves respected, it is disposed to be defiant, to indulge in challenges to all the world, to be needlessly boastful of our strength, to be too quick to interpret any unwelcome words from abroad as an insult, and so to generate friction between 10 us and other nations. That in certain quarters there is somewhat too much of this spirit, I think must be obvious to all sober-minded men.

The spirit, which should be fostered by our patriotic pride and by our consciousness of strength, is that of 15 quiet confidence in our power and of serene faith that no nation will lightly involve itself in serious difficulty with us. If there were no other reason for this faith, the delicate equipoise by which the great powers of Europe are kept from war with each other affords a suf- 20 ficient ground for it. What European state could now be engaged in strife with us without exposing itself at once to attack from some one of its neighbors, who would welcome the opportunity? Their relations with each other put them under bonds to keep the peace with 25 us, if it is possible for them to do so.

Not that we should diminish our present military and naval establishment. Our army is none too large, perhaps hardly large enough, for the police power which it is called to exercise over our large expanse of territory. 30 Our navy is none too powerful to represent us and protect our citizens and their interests in the various countries of the world. The coast defenses of some of our great cities might well be strengthened. I regard the

maintenance of a moderate force and of defenses of our chief harbors as peace measures, which will make nations hesitate about imposing on us. It was a humiliating spectacle and a dangerous situation when a few  
5 years ago the little state of Chili, with her two or three ironclads, was in a condition to defy our wooden navy.

Nevertheless, it remains true that we need not be bristling with excitement about the constant danger of attack from foreign powers, but that our attitude to-  
10 ward them should be one of dignified independence and of a friendly desire to settle all questions with them on a just and reasonable basis by peaceful methods.

Of late years there have been some notable expressions in favor of the arbitral settlement of controversies  
15 between nations. Resolutions in favor of it have been adopted by the Swiss assembly, the Swedish diet, the Belgian parliament, the Dutch states-general, the French parliament, the British parliament and by our congress. The Institute of International Law, a body  
20 composed of the leading publicists of Europe, have taken the pains to work out a formal plan of international arbitration. President Cleveland in a message to congress and Lord Salisbury in a public interview this last week have emphatically commended arbitration. A  
25 body of three hundred men, representing forty states of the union, and comprising many men of high influence and reputation, have recently held a meeting in Washington for the express purpose of urging our government to establish a permanent court of arbitration at  
30 once with Great Britain, if practicable, and as soon as possible with other nations. The reasons why it is proposed to begin with Great Britain are that not only members of parliament, but also many other conspicu-

ous British subjects, and some influential bodies, as, for instance, the Association of Dissenting Churches and the British Chamber of Commerce of London, have favored the plan, and because these two nations, Great Britain and the United States, have a common language, similar laws, like judicial traditions, and the most extensive and intimate commercial relations, and, furthermore, because they have already settled some of their most important controversies by arbitration.

It is therefore believed to be easier for them to set up a permanent system of arbitral adjudication with each other than for several nations in the present state of public opinion to establish such a system. This is not the place to consider the form of a court. But it is believed by eminent jurists and statesmen that one can be constituted by Great Britain and the United States whose decisions would command the assent of both nations.

Let it not be supposed that all this is the mere dream of utopians. It is conceded that there are some questions which no nation can submit to arbitration. It can submit no questions involving its independence or autonomy or the substantial integrity of its territory. There are some questions of honor which a nation cannot submit. But there is a very large class of questions covering most of those which arise in the ordinary intercourse of nations, which can be properly left to arbitration, if diplomacy cannot dispose of them. Such are claims for indemnity to citizens or to a state for injuries done. Such are questions touching the interpretation or execution of treaties. Such are boundary disputes not seriously involving the integrity of territory. Such are certain rights of navigation and fisheries. Any or all

of these could wisely and safely be referred to a competent court, as wisely and safely as we refer controversies between the states of this union to the Supreme Court of the United States.

5 If now this country and Great Britain can demonstrate the practicability and usefulness of an arbitral court, it is hoped that the chief European nations, who are not so grievously burdened by the maintenance of enormous armaments and the constant solicitude about  
10 the outbreak of war, may imitate our example. These two great English-speaking nations have a most conspicuous, if not a dominant, part to play in spreading civic freedom and Christian civilization through the world. If they can avoid serious dissensions with each  
15 other and be true to their traditions of liberty and faith, it seems hardly possible to exaggerate the influence they may wield for good. Can there be any greater aid to their unity of action, any better guaranty of their co-operation in promoting the spirit of peace among  
20 nations than their adoption of a permanent system of arbitration with each other?

Let me repeat, it is not proposed to leave ourselves unprotected against danger, to surrender a solitary right of an American citizen anywhere on the face of the  
25 earth, to submit tamely to insult and injury from any power, to abate in the slightest degree the most ardent spirit of patriotism. Thank God, the day is long since past when any nation claims the right or ventures in defiance of right to lay hands on any man sailing in re-  
30 motest seas under the American flag. In the council halls of negotiation our diplomatists meet on equal terms with those of the proudest powers of the world. With perfect self-respect, nay because of our self-

respect, we can afford to lay aside all petty jealousies of other nations, that inflammable sensitiveness which is a sign of weakness, that combative spirit, which is flinging out constant challenges. We can with manly dignity make it apparent to the world that we seek peace 5 with all nations, but that we know our rights, and are bound, if necessary, to defend them with our good right arms, that much as we dislike war, we believe there are calamities more dreadful than war, and that we are ready to resort to war to avert them. But with the 10 same manly dignity we can show to mankind that we are willing to submit to a properly constituted arbitral court all questions which are suited for arbitrament, and that by our words and our example we desire to commend to all nations this peaceful method of dispos- 15 ing of most international controversies, which cannot be adjusted by the usual methods of diplomacy.

I have thought it wise to direct your attention to this theme at this time, since you, as educated citizens, go out now into life to exercise an exceptional influence on 20 public opinion, and I wish you to exercise a wise and conservative influence in shaping our policy towards other nations. Occasionally I hear the charge that life in our American colleges and universities is tending to beget a spirit of languid patriotism and political indif- 25 ference in the students. I believe the charge to be utterly without foundation. It probably grows from the fact that after the careful study of economic and historical subjects, many young men find themselves unable to assent unqualifiedly to the sweeping or am- 30 biguous statements of some political platforms. But with the recollections fresh in our memories of the days when so many of the bravest and best of our young men



rushed from these halls and from every college to the battlefield, many of them, alas! never to return, it is difficult to imagine how any one can question the burning patriotism of the American students. There is no  
5 brighter chapter in the history of our civil war than that which records the valor of the young men who rushed from the colleges to the front in 1861. No more is it true that the college students are not deeply interested in our political affairs, though it may be true, as it  
10 should be, that they are disposed to use their independent judgment in deciding on political doctrines.

It is because I have this confidence in your patriotism and your purpose to bring a calm and thoughtful consideration to public questions that I have asked you  
15 to-night to reflect on what is our proper attitude as a Christian nation towards the other great powers, and especially on our duty in establishing an arbitral arrangement for the settlement of international difficulties. The European nations have cheerfully recognized  
20 the great services we have rendered to mankind by laboring for the vindication and the enlargement of the rights of neutrals and by furnishing so many illustrious examples of arbitration. They envy us for our exemption from the dreadful military burdens under which  
25 they groan. Is there any higher and nobler service we can proffer them than by showing them how to escape in many cases the dread arbitrament of war by the establishment of permanent courts? No nation questions our military strength. All nations will listen with re-  
30 spect to our appeal for peaceful methods of settling controversies and will watch with sympathetic interest our well considered efforts to introduce these methods in our own intercourse with other powers. Remembering that

“God hath made of one blood all nations of men,” what higher honor can we wish for our people than that they should add to all their triumphs in the industrial arts and in the establishment of free and republican institutions the splendid triumph of teaching all nations to 5 live together as brothers under the blessed command of the Prince of Peace.

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### PATRICK HENRY'S SPEECH IN THE SECOND REVOLUTIONARY CONVENTION OF VIRGINIA

#### THE SPEAKER.

Patrick Henry (1736-1799) entered the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1765, the year of the Stamp Act, and almost immediately became the leader of those who wished to resist Parliament's colonial measures. This brought him into opposition also to the aristocratic element of the colony. It was in a speech on his own resolution, declaring that the colony had never forfeited the right to be taxed by its own representatives, that he startled even the most radical by his outburst, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third—[Cries of "Treason! Treason!"]—may profit by their example." Following the Boston Port Bill, Lord Dunmore dissolved the Virginia House of Burgesses. In August of the same year (1774) the First Revolutionary Convention of Virginia, of which Henry was a member, met and chose him a delegate to the First Continental Congress, which met in Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. The Second Revolutionary Convention of Virginia assembled in the old church at Richmond, March 20, 1775. Henry was a member and moved the adoption of resolutions for the establishment of a well-regulated militia, "that this colony be immediately put into a posture of defence." In moving the resolutions, he made the speech that we are studying. In the legislature and in the various conventions, Henry was not merely the orator; he was a worker on committees and was esteemed for practical business sagacity. He was made commander of the two regiments enlisted in Virginia "and of all to be enlisted"; was Governor of Virginia 1776-1779 and 1784-1786, serving again in the legislature in the interim. He was chosen to the convention that was called to meet in Philadelphia in 1787 for revising the Articles of Confederation, but refused to attend. Bad as a weak confederation was, he feared that a strong central government would prove worse, since it might enable one section of the country to oppress another. The

immediate cause of this fear was the proposal to surrender by treaty to Spain the navigation of the Mississippi for twenty to thirty years, to the great injury of the South and West. He opposed, therefore, the ratification by Virginia of the present Federal Constitution.

#### THE AUDIENCE.

Henry's audience was composed of his fellow-members of the Second Revolutionary Convention of Virginia. All were patriots; all were essentially in revolution; probably all believed that war was now inevitable; yet not all of them thought it prudent or timely to speak and to act as if no hope of a peaceful settlement were possible. No public body in America, and no public man, had as yet openly declared war to be unavoidable; for, to do so would be equivalent to declaring war. Patrick Henry's object was to convince the more timid of his hearers that the time had come to speak out the fact and to act accordingly.

#### EXERCISES.

What parts of the speech are plainly directed to those who thought the resolutions premature? What use of the argument from experience do you find in this speech? What use of the method of exclusion? What use of facts? What use of inferences from facts? The rhetorical question? Note the two points of climax. On the manner of the speaker, the immediate effect of the speech, and the doubtful authenticity of the version which has come down to us, consult Tyler's *Patrick Henry*, pp. 140-151 (American Statesmen Series). What two passages in the speech are pure excitation?

### BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: A MOTION FOR PRAYERS

#### THE SPEAKER.

Franklin's dates are 1706-1790. In colonial days he had been post-master general for the Crown in North America and colony agent for Pennsylvania in London. In 1775-6 he was delegate to the Continental Congress; in 1778, Minister to France. In 1785, after the treaty of peace, which was mainly due to his diplomatic skill, he became President (Governor) of Pennsylvania. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. He is the only American who requires a volume in all three of the series devoted to

our great men: The American Statesmen Series, The American Men of Letters Series, The American Men of Science Series; and should there be a series devoted to American Educators, Franklin might easily be included in that also, on account of his active interest in higher learning and his connection with what is now the University of Pennsylvania. See also *Atlantic*, XII, 29; Parton: *Life of Franklin*; Sparks: *Life and Works of Franklin*; Hildreth: *History of the U. S.*, volume II.

#### MEANS OF PERSUASION.

Persuasion may arise from the adaptation of matter to audience, from the situation and the facts, or from the speaker. In this speech it arises partly from the desperate situation of a five weeks' disagreement in which the Constitutional Convention found itself on the question of equal representation for large and for small states; but mainly from the character, the age, and the antecedents of the speaker. The aged Franklin had been included in Pennsylvania's delegation to the convention in order that, in the possible absence of George Washington, there might be present the one other man whom all could agree in calling to the chair. Franklin was veritably the sage of America; acknowledged to be first in worldly wisdom and in knowledge of human nature; and, on account of his long experience in foreign courts, able to bring to all questions a test furnished by an international point of view. Skeptical in religious matters, as judged by the standards of his own day, self-reliant, and confident in man's unaided power to overcome all difficulties, Franklin must have shocked his audience into a perception of the momentous gravity of the crisis by making this motion for prayers. He was probably the one man from whom such a motion would have been least expected by the superficial. The situation is not without its humor, for the motion was opposed by one of the most religious men of the convention, Alexander Hamilton, who feared that a resort to prayer would apprise the public of the truly desperate state of things within the convention hall. Franklin's motion was not adopted; but its effect can be traced in the fact that the convention remained at work and set diligently about a compromise on the vexed question of representation as between small states and large states, finding a compromise at last in a suggestion of Franklin himself, that states should vote as equals on certain questions, but according to population on money bills,—a scheme which later he developed into the plan of equal representation in the Senate and proportionate representation in the House, as we now have it.

## ON SALARIES.

When President (Governor) of Pennsylvania Franklin devoted his whole salary to public uses, as Washington had done when general of the armies. The persuasive power of being known to practice what one preaches must have added strength to Franklin's argument. Franklin's private fortune happily enabled him to carry out the idea; though it was not deemed practicable for adoption as a constitutional requirement. Franklin's prophecy (p. 40, ll. 28-31) has been fulfilled in several conspicuous cases.

## EXERCISES.

Make a brief of this speech on salaries, following the form employed in the brief of Hamilton's speech given in the Introduction (p. 18). Make a brief of a speech in refutation of Franklin's proposition.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON ON COERCION OF DELIN-  
QUENT STATES

## THE SPEAKER.

At the time this speech was delivered, Hamilton (1757-1804) was but thirty-one years old; yet he was already a national figure, not only on account of his service with Washington in the army and his experience in Congress, but especially on account of his influence in bringing about the Constitutional Convention and in helping to shape its course. He delivered but one speech in the convention itself, and that was in favor of a more strongly centralized and aristocratic government than the Constitution that was finally adopted provided for; but its effect was to strengthen and embolden the friends of centralization in the convention. In order to win New York to ratify the new constitution, Hamilton had to overcome a large hostile majority that was backed by Governor Clinton. Under the name of "Publius," assisted by Madison and Jay, he wrote the remarkable series of papers supporting and expounding the new Constitution, now known as the "Federalist." In the convention of New York, day after day, Hamilton fought a bitterly contested struggle and finally won the delegates to ratify, by the narrow margin of three votes, including the vote of the opposing leader, Melancton Smith, who admitted that he had been convinced by Hamilton's arguments. Later, as Washington's Secretary of the Treasury, he brought forward and secured the passage of that wonderful

series of financial measures which gave the new Federal Government sound credit abroad and power and respect at home.

#### MEANS OF PERSUASION.

Hamilton's power lay in complete mastery of his subject. This included not merely profound knowledge of it, but the power of keen analysis, logical arrangement of arguments, and direct and forceful statement. With no gift for imagery, he convinced his hearers by the clearness of his reasoning and the energy, whole-heartedness, and ardor of his presentation. A brief of the speech is given in the introduction. This version of the speech is probably only an imperfect outline, as Hamilton spoke extemporaneously and there was no systematic reporting in those days.

#### WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

##### AUTHORSHIP.

The first draft of most of Washington's state papers was prepared by others. The papers were not, however, given out until revised, well considered, digested, and rewritten by Washington himself. In 1792, Madison, at Washington's request, furnished him a draft of an address to the American people on Washington's expected retirement. Having been prevailed upon to accept a second term, Washington did not again take up the project of a farewell address until 1796. The address was dated September 17, 1796, and contains some suggestions from Madison's former draft and some from Hamilton. "The copy from which the final draft was printed . . . is wholly in the handwriting of Washington. It bears all the marks of a most rigid and laborious revision." Sparks: *Writings of Washington*, Vol. XII, appendix.

##### THE OCCASION AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES.

What is excellent in literature is preserved because of the universal element of truth and the evidence of great personality in it. Even though utterly ignorant of the historical facts back of Washington's Farewell Address and unacquainted with the life of Washington, a reader could not miss the appeal of the great national principles which the address embodies; nor could he escape the feeling that he is in the presence of a great and admirable personality. A knowledge of the facts and of the life, however, would greatly deepen

appreciation. Recall in connection with the introduction of the address (p. 48—p. 51, l. 15) the great debt of gratitude which the country owed to Washington for his services in the Revolution. Recall the fact that he was probably the only American who could have gotten the new government under way amid the perplexities that arose after the dismal failure of the old Confederation. Recall the bitter and unjust criticism of his administration and of himself. And then note the spirit of good-will, concern for the public welfare, and dignified modesty where much personal credit might have been claimed. The first topic of the discussion (p. 51, l. 16—p. 54, l. 27) enjoins love of country, pride in the national union. There were still a great many Americans who remained in the colonial condition of mind, who took their politics from abroad, and thought politically as Frenchmen or as Englishmen rather than as Americans. There was also considerable unfriendliness and jealousy between North and South, East and West,—a feeling that appears to this day on occasion, usually showing itself in connection with tariff bills, or discussions of the money question, or the bank question. The logic of Washington's first topic will be keenly felt by the student who is informed about the attitude of different sections of our country towards the Assumption Bill, the National Bank, the Excise Bill, the Whiskey Insurrection, the Genet Affair, the Jay Treaty, the Spanish Treaty, the Proclamation of Neutrality. (See any of the larger histories: Hildreth, volumes III-V; Schouler, volume I; Sparks, *Life and Writings of Washington*, or the volumes in the American Statesmen Series on Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, and Jay.) That the warning was timely will be clear to those who recall the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, and the rumors of secession in connection with these and with the Hartford Convention sixteen years later. Washington next takes up more specifically (p. 54, l. 28—p. 58, l. 4) the danger to the Union arising from political parties based on geographical lines, and here refers by name to the treaties with Spain and England, thereby recalling the agitation, based on sectional lines and on foreign affiliations, that was aroused by the proposal of these treaties. (See Lodge: *George Washington*, vol. II, pp. 135, 167, 180, 201, 205.) He next emphasizes the need of an adequate central government (p. 55, l. 26) and of obedience to it (p. 56, l. 9), warning against combinations and factions (p. 56, l. 19) and against the spirit of innovation. (Lodge: *Washington*, II, 266-268.) The discussion of party spirit (p. 58, l. 4—p. 59, l. 23) recalls the fact that Washington entered upon the Presidency with the impossible expectation that parties could be eliminated from govern-



ment. His cabinet, however, represented in Hamilton and Jefferson respectively, the two principles along which parties speedily formed. (Alexander Johnston: *American Politics*.) The Farewell Address is to be read as his final judgment that parties are inevitable, but excessive party spirit is forever to be repressed in a free country. (See chapter V, vol. II of Lodge's biography, on "Washington as a Party Man.") It is a corollary of this that a party when in power should proceed with moderation and not in a spirit of vengeance, and should keep well within constitutional limitations (p. 59, l. 24—p. 60, l. 17). The next section of the address (p. 60, l. 18—p. 61, l. 12) should recall the words of the Ordinance of 1787. On public credit and acquiescence in revenue laws (p. 61, l. 13—p. 62, l. 4), the experience of Washington's administration with Hamilton's financial measures and with the Whiskey Insurrection, plainly speaks. (See Lodge: *Washington*, II, 122-128). The last topic of the discussion (p. 62, l. 5—p. 68, l. 7) deals with the principles that should govern our country's foreign policy. The inveterate antipathy against England and the passionate attachment for France are alike condemned (p. 62, l. 22), though the countries are not named. Pages 63 and 64 recall the Genet Affair, with the attendant exhibitions of foolish popular affection for France and equally foolish popular hatred for England; and the disgraceful intriguing of one American faction with the French minister to the United States. (See Lodge: *Washington*, II, chapter IV.) The great rule of conduct (p. 64, ll. 24-28) in foreign affairs, as laid down by Washington, was nobly fulfilled in the diplomacy of the late John Hay, Secretary of State. In closing with a defense of the Proclamation of Neutrality, Washington reached a true climax, a fact not generally appreciated today; for that proclamation embodied, in effect, all the fundamental principles laid down in the Farewell Address. It meant national solidarity against the world, as opposed to a divided nation with conflicting sympathies running wildly in favor of one foreign country or another. The conclusion (p. 68, ll. 8-30), like the introduction, illustrates the highest use of personal reference. But the evidence of great and admirable personality is found not merely in the sentiments of the introduction and the conclusion. It appears in the magnanimous and perfectly adequate treatment of the principles announced one after another in the body of the discourse; in the final character and nobility of those principles; in the repression of the controversial spirit and the choice of the highest plane of discussion. If the address had been written in the spirit of controversy, it must have remained on the low plane of fact; it comes to us not on that plane, but on the plane of truth. The next speech in this

volume, Webster on the Character of Washington, contains an exposition of the main truths of the Farewell Address.

#### QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES.

Make a complete outline of the address, following the form of the outline of Webster's Bunker Hill Monument Address as given in the Introduction to this volume (p. 16). Are the topics of the address related to one another by the law of cause and effect, or by similarity and contrast, or by contiguity? What passages or maxims would you select for memorizing? What audience is Washington addressing? Do you find the appeal to community of interest anywhere plainly expressed? Does the persuasion arise from the subject, the method of treatment, or speaker (p. 293)? What does Washington mean by the distinction between *political* and *commercial* in our dealings with foreign nations? Is there any ground for thinking that the principles of the address are in any respect obsolete? On the immediate effect of the Farewell Address, see Lodge's *Washington*, volume II, pages 248-251.

### DANIEL WEBSTER: THE CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON

#### THE SPEAKER.

When this speech was delivered, in 1832, Webster had been United States Senator from Massachusetts about five years, and had previously served several terms in the House of Representatives. He had already enjoyed five great triumphs. As a lawyer he had won a favorable decision from the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dartmouth College Case; he had gained fame also by four remarkable orations: one commemorating the landing of the Pilgrims, one at the laying of the corner stone of the Bunker Hill Monument, one on Adams and Jefferson, and one in reply to Hayne. These had made Webster recognized as the leader of the Union sentiment, the national idea, in the country, just as Senators Calhoun and Hayne were already the recognized leaders of the confederation sentiment in the country, of the idea that the Constitution is merely a compact. Although he served twice as Secretary of State and was twice a candidate for the presidency, it was in the Senate, as the expounder of the Constitution on the national theory, that he performed his greatest service. His last great speech, March 7, 1850, was on the slavery question. He died in 1852 at the age of seventy. See Lodge: *Daniel Webster* (American Statesmen Series), especially chapter IV; Curtis:

*Life of Webster*, especially chapter XI; Whipple: *Essays and Reviews*, Vol. I; Whipple: *Webster's Great Speeches*.

#### KIND OF ADDRESS.

An address which takes for its title the name of a great man may (1) be merely narrative and biographical. This it is likely to be, and needs to be, if the man whom it celebrates has but recently passed away, or if, though long celebrated, his life in many of its details has been forgotten. (2) It may be judicial, aiming at a careful estimate of the worth of the life and of its influence. (3) It may be appreciative and eulogistic, dealing not with the facts of the life but with the exemplary principles which guided the great man in his work. (4) It may take the life and the principles which governed it merely as a point of departure for discussion of present day problems and duties and of the spirit in which they should be met. In these days a Washington's Birthday address is likely to be of the type last named. Webster's address is not judicial and is only incidentally biographical. It is in the main an appreciation of Washington's character, and the appreciation is deepest when Webster speaks of Washington's devotion to the paramount idea of Union, to the country as one nation (pp. 82-84); for this was the idea to which Webster himself was supremely devoted during his whole life.

#### THE THEME.

The subject of this address is Washington; the theme, everywhere present, is the spirit of American Nationality as exemplified in Washington. The sentiment of nationalism, of an inseparable unity of states, of a supreme union as an essential of true liberty, was still not dominant in this country. Webster had given it a commanding utterance two years before in the Reply to Hayne. Now he recurs to it. At the opening of the speech (p. 69, ll. 9-11; p. 70, ll. 8, 21; p. 71, ll. 1-11) it is calmly assumed. In the body of the discourse, which begins on page 71, line 22, it is appealed to incidentally as the key to the proper appreciation of Washington's character (p. 73, ll. 3, 4, 14, 15; p. 74, l. 19; p. 75, ll. 12-17; p. 76, l. 9; p. 77, ll. 5-15; p. 78, ll. 12, 16-25 [referring to the Proclamation of Neutrality], 32; p. 79, ll. 10, 11; p. 80, ll. 1, 10, 14, 32; p. 81, l. 23), but finally (pp. 82-86) the sentiment of nationalism becomes the main object of the discussion. Thus the various topics of the address (beginning respectively on pages 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81 and 82) are bound together by this pervading sentiment.

## QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES.

Make an outline of the address. This address abounds in specimens of the climax; almost every one of the longer paragraphs affords a specimen. Note how each climax is approached. Webster does not often in his speeches use extended figures, but in this address such figures are numerous. See p. 70, ll. 9-12, ll. 26-32. Also see p. 71, ll. 17-21 (perhaps the finest of all), p. 77, l. 26; p. 82, l. 13; p. 84, ll. 22-30; p. 85, ll. 8-19. On p. 77, ll. 20-22, Webster adapts Goldsmith's lines referring to Burke:

"Who, born for the universe, narrowed his mind,  
And to party gave up what was meant for mankind."  
—Goldsmith: *Retaliation*, 31.

Note the large use of rhetorical questions in this address. Whence arises the persuasive element in the address (pp. 293, 295)?

## DANIEL WEBSTER: THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

## THE OCCASION.

A monument to General Warren, whom Webster calls "the first great martyr" of the revolution, had been erected by King Solomon's Lodge of Masons, Charlestown, Massachusetts, and had been dedicated, in 1794. General Warren in his lifetime had been Grand Master of the Massachusetts Masons. But there came in the course of years a desire on the part of Congress, the Massachusetts legislature, and the people generally, for a grander memorial not only to Warren but also to the other patriots who had fought at Bunker Hill. An association, the Bunker Hill Monument Association, was formed, with Webster as President of the Board of Trustees. Funds were raised and on June 17, 1825, the ceremonies of laying the corner stone took place. The procession included the military, followed by two hundred veterans of the Revolution, in carriages, forty of the veterans being survivors of the battle of Bunker Hill. Then came the members of the Monument Association and of the Masonic fraternity, followed by Lafayette, who had arranged his progress through the country so as to be present on the occasion. Many civic societies followed and the procession was attended with great enthusiasm and a universal outburst of patriotism during its long progress from the State House to Breed's Hill. Thousands had come to hear the great Webster, whom the trustees of the Association had appointed orator. For this extraordinary occasion, Webster had made preparations that were unusual

for him. He had written out the speech in full, whereas it was his custom to write out and commit to memory only the most important and striking passages of his speeches. It is known that this speech caused Webster great anxiety; especially, the portion to be addressed directly to the noble Lafayette raised fine questions of taste, fitness, and proportion, that were not so urgent in the case of the direct address to the Revolutionary soldiers. "He said," says Ticknor, "that he felt as if he knew how to talk to such men, for that his father, and many of his father's friends whom he had known, had been among them."

#### QUALITIES OF THE ADDRESS.

Five years before the date of this address Webster had given at Plymouth the oration celebrating the "First Settlement of New England," which Ticknor described as "a series of eloquent fragments." In that oration Webster had touched upon the power of local association, the historical event, the character of the Pilgrims, the growth and future of the country, on liberty, on the national view of the constitution, on education and on slavery. The point of Ticknor's description is that these topics were not so closely knit together as to make an organized unity. No such criticism could be passed on the Monument speech. Although the range of topics is even greater than in the Plymouth Oration, and consequently the problem of relating them closely to one another is more difficult, unity of organization is effected with apparent ease. (See outline and study of the principles of arrangement, Introduction, pp. 21-22.) Many of the ideas are the same in the two orations; for instance the idea of the power of local association (p. 87, l. 9. See also p. 69, l. 23), of the growth of mankind in education (p. 102) and in government (pp. 106-107). Besides unity and wide range of topics, the Monument Address shows ease of transition; its continuity is unbroken. In making transitions Webster uses the "echo" frequently,—some word or sentiment towards the end of one paragraph being repeated at the beginning of the next (e. g. "deep impression," p. 87, l. 7, is echoed in "affect" and "emotions," ll. 10, 11). This is a special form of the arrangement by contiguity (see p. 21). Note also the easy approach to the addresses to the survivors (p. 93, l. 19), to the veterans (p. 95, l. 20) and to Lafayette (p. 100, l. 26). Another quality conspicuous in all of Webster's orations is massiveness; there is a sufficient bulk of material gathered about each point to give it due importance and dignity; a sense of satisfaction is experienced as the discussion of each topic is concluded. The language is plain and direct; almost

devoid of subtlety and fancy (the one fanciful allusion in this speech is to the ships about the Charlestown navy yard, p. 94, l. 11). Yet there is imagination (e. g. p. 88, ll. 8-23). There is picturesqueness (e. g. p. 92). There is force. These are higher qualities, independent of vocabulary and of sentence-length; they are qualities that arise from the vision or insight of the speaker into the deeper significance of the occasion (cf. pp. 88, 91, 94, 101, 102, 104, 106). The sentences are short and clear; they are void of monotony on account of the fullness and variety of thought which they carry. It is Webster's simplicity of expression, combined with the amplitude of his thought and the dignity of his emotion, that explains the power of his speech. It was this that led those who listened to him to speak of his discourse as having "magnanimity," or "high seriousness," or "largeness," or "sweep," or "elevation," or "tone." These words point to characteristics of the speaker's personality while, at the same time, they describe his speech; thus they indicate his sincerity and perfect competence for the occasion. (Other points are touched upon in the Introduction, pp. 13-23.) Webster's speeches are full of political wisdom and the Monument Address is no exception. (See especially pp. 102, 105.) Our attention is held by his thoughts, rather than by the way in which they are clothed. He makes no effort for small adornment; quotations and literary allusions are few. That on p. 94, l. 34 is from *Milton's Paradise Lost*, V, 310-311; that on p. 98, l. 29 is from Virgil's *Aeneid*, VI, 726 ("infused through all parts, intelligence moves the whole mass and permeates the great body"); that on p. 102, l. 4 is from Horace's *Carmina*, I 2, 45 ("May you return late to heaven; may you live long!"); that on p. 107, l. 18 is from Homer's *Iliad*, XVII; books that Webster read in the academy and in college and that continued to be his favorites through life. From the nature of the case, historical references are numerous. The matters with which they deal, colonial history, the French Revolution, the Greek Revolution, South American States, are treated at length in the larger histories, Fiske, Bancroft, Von Holst, Lalor's *Cyclopedia of United States History*, or may be traced by use of the index volume of the American Statesmen Series. On page 108, ll. 19-26 the reference is to the events that followed the Greek War against Turkey, for independence (1821-1829). In 1830, the great powers declared Greece an independent kingdom, Turkey agreeing; but they were unable to provide a king for Greece until 1832. Meanwhile Greece was ruled by a dictator and conditions were so bad as to justify the alternatives mentioned, ll. 5-9. As would be expected, melody and cadence on the small scale of single sentences, are not prominent char-

acteristics of Webster, but in the larger divisions of his discourse, rhythm and harmony are prominent. They arise from the large sweep of his thought and emotion, and are best noticed as he approaches and reaches his climaxes (pp. 91, 96, 110 and 112).

## THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE AT FREEPORT

### THE SPEAKERS AND THE ISSUES.

Stephen Arnold Douglas was born in Vermont in 1813. Before he was 21 he had made himself leader of the Jackson Democrats of his adopted home in Illinois. In 1836 his native gift for politics, his unusual aggressiveness and power as a debater, won him an election to the Illinois legislature, of which Abraham Lincoln was a Whig member. When he was 28 years old the legislature chose him a justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois and two years later he entered Congress. In 1846 he entered the United States Senate and by 1850 was the national leader of his party both in council and in debate. He shared with Clay the honor of effecting the Compromise of 1850 and was the favorite of the younger democracy for the presidential nomination in 1852, but failed to win it for lack of southern support. He was the author of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854), which embodied the doctrine of popular sovereignty, or squatter sovereignty, permitting the people of each territory to determine for themselves whether or not they would have slavery. This bill ignored the moral aspects of the slavery question, and enabled Congress to evade responsibility for slavery in the territories. It was almost universally condemned in the North, but its passage was regarded as a personal triumph for Douglas. "Anti-Nebraska men," including Free-Soilers, Northern Whigs and many Northern Democrats, united, in 1854, under the name "Republican," in several states. The point of agreement among them was opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act. In 1855 Kansas was applying for statehood, the pro-slavery citizens under a constitution sanctioning slavery, the free-soilers under an anti-slavery constitution. A state of civil war existed in Kansas. Douglas, with indifference to the moral issues involved, proposed that Kansas should be admitted when her population should be sufficient to entitle her to one representative in Congress. The democratic nomination for the presidency went to Buchanan, as Douglas was out of favor in the North, and the South wanted a weaker man. Two days after Buchanan's inauguration came the Dred Scot decision, affirming that Negroes

were not included in the Declaration of Independence, that no Negro could become a citizen of the United States, and that slavery could not legally be excluded from any territory. The North feared that another decision would follow opening not only the territories but also all of the states to slavery. It was widely believed in the North that Buchanan and the Supreme Court were in collusion to nationalize slavery. In the course of the Kansas-Nebraska debate Douglas, replying to a question whether the people of a territory could legally exclude slavery, had answered, "That is a question for the courts." Now the decision had come, practically outlawing the Republican position to be sure, but also reducing Douglas's popular sovereignty doctrine from a great panacea to a mere logical quibble. The cause of slavery seemed to be triumphant. Douglas, unabashed, promptly declared that the Dred Scot decision was righteous; and that all should obey and respect it. In 1857 the pro-slavery Lecompton Constitution was submitted to the people of Kansas in such a way that they must vote either "for the constitution with slavery" or "for the constitution without slavery"; provided that, if the latter were adopted, slavery should not be interfered with wherever it already existed in Kansas. The free-state men refused to vote, and the result was 6,143 votes "for the constitution with slavery," and 589 votes "for the constitution without slavery." The free-state men, soon after, called a special election to vote for or against the Lecompton Constitution, and the result was 10,266 votes against it, 138 for it with slavery, and 24 for it without slavery. The Lecompton men now applied to Congress for the admission of Kansas to the Union under the Lecompton Constitution. President Buchanan favored this project. If Douglas should favor it too, he could carry it through Congress; but he would probably lose his re-election to the Senate and not a shadow of the popular sovereignty idea would be left; if he defeated it, he would have to break with his Southern following, with the administration, and with the other leaders of his party; but he might gain his re-election to the Senate, and he might remain an upholder of the principle involved in the doctrine of popular sovereignty, since there was no question but that the Lecompton Constitution expressed the wish of only a minority of the people of Kansas. Douglas took the latter alternative; procured the defeat of the measure, and broke with the South and the administration. It was hoped by northern leaders that Douglas might even in time come over to the Republican position, and, outside of Illinois, they wished him well in his campaign for re-election to the Senate in 1858. In Illinois, he found himself embar-



passed by the administration's opposition, but in high favor with the rank and file of his party.

Abraham Lincoln had been nominated by the Republican state convention as his opponent. Lincoln had served in the Illinois legislature, 1834-1837, and had been one term in Congress (1846-1848), during which he had voted repeatedly ("about forty-two times," he humorously said) in favor of the Wilmot Proviso, which proposed to prohibit slavery in all territory acquired of Mexico. He had campaigned against Douglas, after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854; and though at the time elected to the legislature, had immediately resigned, in order to become the Anti-Nebraska candidate for the United States Senate against Senator Shields. While the balloting was in progress Lincoln steadily lost votes on account of ardent Abolitionist support and finally withdrew, urging his friends to support Judge Trumbull, an Anti-Nebraska Democrat, who was elected. The Anti-Nebraska principle was of more importance to Lincoln than a personal victory; but Douglas interpreted Lincoln's action as proof of a bargain with Trumbull by which Lincoln was to succeed Douglas in 1858. Lincoln was now (1858) the acknowledged leader of the Republican party in Illinois and its candidate for the Senate against Douglas. He was already mentioned as "available presidential timber." He was known to his state as an ambitious man who nevertheless prized truth, honesty, fairness, and justice, above all personal ambition. As a lawyer he was known to be wonderfully successful when he felt his client to be in the right, but unable ever to make the worse appear the better cause. The common people felt that he was one of themselves in kind, though much greater than any of them in ability and insight. As a speaker, he was plain and awkward; in appearance, grotesque; in argument, quaint, humorous, logical and analytical; in illustration, homely and effective; in method, honest and sincere, but sagacious and practical. Douglas came to the contest from his long experience in Washington, with the prestige of many victories about him. He was polished in manner, wonderfully energetic, extremely agile in debate, skilful in all of the arts of political controversy, able to wrest victory from defeat, and to escape from any dilemma in which fate might place him. His great powers and his bravery in an unequal conflict were universally admired; but he was never extolled for moral sensitiveness. The popular sovereignty doctrine which he had made his own treated the question of slavery-extension as a mere question of expediency. It offended the consciences of many who felt that there was a question of right and wrong involved, which

could not be ignored. But it expressed the practical sense of the time as to the possibility of peaceful action. The places agreed upon for the debates were Ottawa and Freeport, in the northern and republican parts of the state; Charleston, Galesburg, and Quincy, in the central part, where the political parties were more evenly divided; and Jonesboro and Alton, in the southern part, which was strongly Democratic.

#### IMMEDIATE CIRCUMSTANCES.

The Abolitionists were a source of political embarrassment to Lincoln. In 1837 he had declared that slavery was unjust and was bad policy, but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tended only to increase its evils. He could not adopt the Abolition platform, yet to beat Douglas he must gain the Abolitionist support, without estranging the Republicans and the old line Whigs. Douglas hoped to win the Whigs by identifying Lincoln with Abolitionism. Lincoln was embarrassed also by the Dred Scot decision which put him in the attitude of criticizing the United States Supreme Court. Douglas, on his part, was contending against the insidious opposition of the administration wing of his own party, was rendered speechless on the moral aspect of slavery by his Kansas-Nebraska doctrine, and was also hampered by a long record in Congress which offered to his opponent many chances for attack. The debates attracted national attention and as Blaine (*Twenty Years in Congress*) says, were so far-reaching in their results as to "effect the organization of parties" and "so powerful as to change the fate of millions."

#### THE ARGUMENT.

The tactical advantage which Lincoln gains by first answering Douglas's questions with mere technical denials (pp. 113-115) is to discredit Douglas's accuracy in stating things. He then shows his own openness, fairness, and willingness to answer by answering more than he was asked. The objections to the Fugitive Slave Law (p. 116, l. 17) may be inferred from a reading of the law. (See Lalor's *Cyclopedia*; Rhodes, *History of U. S.*, I, 185.) The chief objection was that the law required every citizen, on demand, to assist in recapturing fugitive slaves. In the Alton debate, Lincoln said: "We profess to have no taste for running and catching niggers,—at least I profess no taste for that job at all. Why then do I yield support to a Fugitive Slave Law? Because I do not understand that the Constitution, which guarantees that right,

can be supported without it." Lincoln's answer to the second question (p. 116, l. 23) should be compared with Douglas's criticism of it (p. 151, l. 25—p. 156, l. 9). Does Lincoln's rejoinder (p. 162, l. 6—p. 163, l. 21) answer Douglas completely? In view of the Dred Scot decision, is the first if-clause (p. 116, l. 30) relevant? A more direct answer would have pleased the bulk of the Freeport audience, which tended to abolition views, but the audiences in central and southern Illinois were still to be faced. The cautious and carefully conditioned answers to the fourth and fifth questions were in consonance with the conservative view; but the answer to the sixth (p. 118) went as far as even the Freeport audience, with its abolition sympathy, could desire. In his answer to the seventh question, Lincoln has in mind the intention of the Administration and a strong party in the South to acquire Cuba (pp. 135-137, especially p. 136, l. 34). The next point (p. 119, l. 22—p. 122, l. 6) involves a charge of forgery. Lincoln's statement (p. 114, ll. 7-13) means that he is *not* bound by resolutions passed *before* May, 1856. The meeting in October, 1854, was not a Republican convention, but an Abolitionist gathering called by Owen Lovejoy. Lovejoy planned to have Lincoln present, and to get him to speak, but Herndon, Lincoln's law partner, sent Lincoln away "on business" before Lovejoy could find him, thus saving Lincoln from apparent political connection with the Abolitionists. With this addition, Lincoln's account is completed. No better example of Douglas's agility in a difficult situation and of his astounding deftness in "turning the tables" on an opponent by introducing a new element to create a dilemma, and really "shifting the ground" without seeming to do so, can be found than in his long reply on this point (pp. 138-153). Lincoln's rejoinder should be carefully scrutinized (p. 159, l. 25—p. 162, l. 5). Lincoln next presses the charge of a conspiracy to nationalize slavery (pp. 123-128), his object being to force a breach between the Northern and the Southern Democrats. Douglas (p. 132, l. 12—p. 133, l. 34) answered in such a way as to make clear to those holding the extreme Southern view that he could not be trusted to support their bold claim that slavery had become everywhere constitutional since the Dred Scot decision. The use of the word "State" in Douglas's amendment (p. 123, l. 11) was extremely unfortunate, for now it favored the conspiracy theory. Lincoln's closing words (p. 127, l. 10—p. 128, l. 19) should be read in connection with Douglas's reply (p. 156, l. 10—p. 159, l. 3) and Lincoln's rejoinder (p. 163, l. 22—p. 168, l. 25). The answers to Lincoln's four questions (especially p. 131, l. 14—p. 132, l. 11, known as "the Freeport heresy") probably won Douglas his

reelection to the Senate, but undoubtedly made him forever impossible as a presidential candidate in the South. (See Churchill's novel, *The Crisis*, for a dramatic account of the Freeport debate.) In the Alton debate, Lincoln exposed "the Freeport heresy" as follows: "And if I believed that the right to hold a slave in a Territory was equally fixed in the Constitution with the right to reclaim fugitives, I should be bound to give it the legislation necessary to support it. I say that no man can deny his obligation to give the necessary legislation to support slavery in a Territory, who believes it is a constitutional right to have it there. No man can, who does not give the Abolitionists an argument to deny the obligation enjoined by the Constitution to enact a Fugitive Slave Law." (See also the Introduction, pp. 12, 28, 29, 32.)

#### THE RESULT.

In the legislature that was elected on the issue of Lincoln or Douglas for the United States Senate, the latter had a majority of eight votes, though the popular vote stood 126,084 for Lincoln, 121,940 for Douglas, and 5,091 for the Administration candidate. Douglas went back to the Senate; the South was permanently estranged from him, and would not have him as its candidate in 1860, but, after his nomination by the Baltimore Convention, from which the Southern extremists had seceded, opposed him with Breckinridge and Lane. Lincoln's questions had done their work. The debates made Lincoln a national figure and he was called to Ohio and to New York and other eastern states for speeches. In these he solidified the Republican party, made plain the irreconcilable issues of the time, and deepened the public conscience. Nominated, over Seward, by the Republican Convention at Chicago, he won the Presidency, the vote in the electoral college standing, Lincoln 180, Breckinridge 72, Douglas 12. After Sumter was fired on, Douglas at once called upon President Lincoln and pledged himself "to sustain the President in the exercise of all his constitutional functions to preserve the Union, and maintain the government, and defend the Federal capital." By this patriotic act Douglas left no doubt among his northern followers as to his own devotion to the Union, and as to their patriotic duty in the crisis. He prevented the calamity of a divided North. (See Morse: *Abraham Lincoln*, I, 251.) Douglas died in 1861. (A brief biography of Douglas, by W. G. Brown, is printed in the Riverside Series. See also Rhodes's *History of the U. S.*, I and II.)

## ALEXANDER HAMILTON STEPHENS ON SECESSION

## .THE SPEAKER.

Though a life-long invalid Stephens showed superb intellectual vitality and power from youth to old age. He was born in Georgia in 1812 and died in 1883. After admission to the bar he was elected to the Georgia legislature in 1836, against great opposition because he opposed nullification, though he believed in states rights. In 1843 he was elected to Congress, where he advocated the annexation of Texas. He welcomed the results of the Mexican War as the salvation of the South. In 1850 he supported Clay and Douglas in the great compromise, favoring the admission of California as a free state because he saw that the bargain included in effect the repeal of essential parts of the Missouri Compromise and opened other territories to slavery. He was the author of the "Georgia platform" of 1850, which declared, "We hold the American Union secondary in importance only to the rights and principles it was designed to perpetuate." That sentence is the best statement ever made of the attitude of moderate southern men towards the Union. He voted for Webster for president in 1852. In 1854 he defended the Kansas-Nebraska Act. He retired from Congress in 1859 and in 1860 he supported Douglas for the Presidency. In December, 1860, Lincoln, in a private letter to Stephens (they had served in Congress together) said: "Do the people of the South really entertain fears that a Republican administration would, *directly* or *indirectly*, interfere with the slaves, or with them about their slaves? If they do, I wish to assure you, as once a friend, and still, I hope, not an enemy, that there is no cause for such fears." Stephens, with all the power at his command, tried to stem the rising tide of secession in Georgia, arguing that secession was unnecessary, inexpedient, and a criminal blunder that would bring untold disaster upon the South. His efforts were unavailing against the radicals, who carried the State convention with them. In his opinion the chief influence in bringing about the result was Cobb's assertion that "we can make better terms out of the Union than in it." Excessive state patriotism was also appealed to with success. Many said, "I abhor disunion, but I go with my State," and that expressed Stephens's own position after the ordinance of secession was adopted. In 1861 he was chosen Vice President of the Confederacy and in 1865 was a peace commissioner at the Hampton Roads Conference. Feb. 22, 1866, in a speech on reconstruction he made a strong plea for the freedmen. In 1867 he published Volume I of *The*

*War between the States*, and in 1870, Volume II,—a work remarkable for great power of logic. From 1874 to 1882 Stephens was again in the Federal Congress. He opposed the Civil Rights Bill in 1874, and the "Salary Grab," and advised strongly against the proposal to use force to seat Tilden in the presidential office. In 1882 he was elected Governor of Georgia, but had not served long before death overtook him.

#### THE SPEECH.

This extract is remarkable for the prophetic element (p. 169, ll. 5, 11, 17, 22; p. 171, ll. 2-6) that constitutes the first point; there is evidently not a shadow of doubt in Stephens's mind as to the result of a conflict. The second point is the argument from expediency (pp. 170-172, l. 14), and the third the appeal to national patriotism. Make a brief of the argument.

#### ABRAHAM LINCOLN: ADDRESS AT INDEPENDENCE HALL

Mr. Lincoln had spoken his brief but touching farewell to his Springfield neighbors, February 11, 1861, and had started for Washington. After stopping at various points to make speeches, he had reached Philadelphia, where he was to assist at a flag-raising. The secession of Southern states, the demoralization of the Buchanan Administration at Washington, the timid attitude of the North, and of Congress, were post-election developments. Through these, the issues on which Lincoln had won the election had suddenly become obsolete. The issue was now no longer anti-slavery, but the Union and how to save it. The Independence Hall speech recognizes this great change of issues (p. 174, ll. 5-7, ll. 19-21—p. 175, ll. 3-10), and the Union is Lincoln's theme from this time on. The place suggested the central idea, "The Declaration of Independence furnishes the principle on which the Union must be saved." While hundreds of influential but timid Northerners were, at the moment, ready to yield any and all principles in order to pacify the South, here was a strong declaration from the President-elect, that there would be no war unless it was forced upon the government. The effect of this address was to hearten the North and to impress the South with the fact that Lincoln was in no sense doubtful as to the duty before him. In connection with the last sentence of the address it should be remembered that there were credible rumors of a plot to assassinate Lincoln as he should pass through Baltimore on the next day or two. The plot, if it existed, was frustrated

by making the journey earlier than the time announced, and Lincoln entered Washington February 23d, unharmed.

### THE FIRST INAUGURAL

This, the most momentous utterance in our history, left no doubt that the real issue was now union or disunion, and of the firm course President Lincoln would take. "The union of these states is perpetual"; "No state upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union"; "I shall take care that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states"; "The central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy"; "The power confided in me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts"; "You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect and defend' it,"—these direct, simple, firm, and earnest sentences, impossible to misunderstand, meant that the seceded states must either abandon their project or make war to maintain it. By the most persuasive pleas and reasonings they were solicited to abandon their project. They are first assured (pp. 176-177) that Republican success does not mean danger to slavery in the Southern states; that the President deems the enactment of a Fugitive Slave Law a constitutional obligation binding on Congress (pp. 177-178). Indeed he makes suggestions for improving the existing law (p. 178, ll. 18-26). Then follow the open acknowledgment that an attempt is being made to disrupt the Union (p. 179) and the argument that the Union is perpetual and secession ordinances void (p. 180); the duty and intentions of the President (pp. 180-181); the plea to those who love the Union (pp. 181-182); the lack of real grievances against the government (p. 182); the reduction of secession to a logical absurdity (p. 183); the true attitude of the citizen towards the Supreme Court (p. 184); the folly of secession (pp. 184-185); Lincoln's willingness that the Constitution should be amended (pp. 185-186); the appeal to faith in the triumph of the right (p. 186); the appeal to old friendship and to patriotism (pp. 187-188). In an earlier draft of the inaugural the word *nothing* was used for the word *void* (p. 180, l. 16), the word *treasonable* instead of the word *revolutionary* (p. 180, l. 18). The clauses *in view of the Constitution and the laws* (p. 180, l. 19) and *as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me* (p. 180, l. 21) were omitted; *tangible way* was used for *authoritative manner* (p. 180, l. 27) and the last line of the paragraph (p. 180, l. 30) read, *that it will have its own and defend itself*. (The student will find

it instructive to consider what difference in implication there is between the word rejected and the word adopted in each case and to account for the alterations adopted by Lincoln.) The original draft of the final paragraphs (p. 187) read as follows: "My dissatisfied fellow-countrymen; you cannot forbear the assault upon it; I cannot shrink from the defense of it. With you, and not with me, is the solemn question of Shall it be peace or a sword?" To this Mr. Seward objected on the ground that "something besides or in addition to argument is needful—to meet and remove prejudice and passion in the South and despondency and fear in the East. Some words of affection—some of calm and cheerful confidence." Mr. Seward proposed the following: "I close. We are not, we must not be, aliens or enemies, but fellow-countrymen and brethren. Although passion has strained our bonds of affection too hardly, they must not, I am sure they will not, be broken. The mystic chords which, proceeding from so many battle-fields and so many patriot graves, pass through all the hearts and all the hearths in this broad continent of ours, will yet again harmonize in their ancient music when breathed upon by the guardian angel of the nation." Compare these versions with the text finally adopted by Mr. Lincoln and account for the alterations. Lincoln's fine precision in the use of words, his sense for choosing words with the association desired, his gift for direct statement, his ability to make every sentence say and imply no more and no less than he meant it to say and imply, can be illustrated on every page of this inaugural. He attributed his power over language to the fact that he never was satisfied with an idea until he had put it in language "plain enough for any boy to comprehend." The tone is firm but kindly, the spirit breathes native greatness and honesty of intention.

### THE LETTER TO GREELEY

In spite of the clear statement of the First Inaugural that the supreme issue was not now anti-slavery but the saving of the Union, many of Lincoln's supporters continued to think of the war only in its bearings on slavery. The radicals were zealous to destroy slavery at once; the conservatives were willing to preserve it. Each faction was eager to criticise every act of the administration with sole reference to the effect on slavery. Lincoln was on record as saying that he believed the Union could not permanently endure half-slave and half-free. He was known to hate human slavery. It might be inferred that when convinced of the necessity of emancipation as a war measure, solely in order to save the



Union, he would proclaim freedom to the slave. He was meditating whether the hour had not arrived and had discussed the subject with his Cabinet July 22, 1862. But he had laid the proclamation aside awaiting Union victories. These did not come; and the radicals were more bitter in their criticism of his "inaction" than ever. August 20, 1862, the New York Tribune, Greeley's paper, printed an open letter to Abraham Lincoln signed by Horace Greeley charging the President with not executing the laws energetically, with not carrying forward emancipation; with not taking counsel with radicals instead of conservatives, with acting timidly, with deferring to Southern sentiment, and with much more to the same purport. The purpose of Lincoln's reply was to restrain the impatience of those enthusiasts who felt as Greeley wrote, and to turn Greeley's letter to account in making public sentiment ready for emancipation. Lincoln aimed to go no faster in the direction of emancipation than he felt sure public opinion would warrant. There was for Lincoln every provocation to anger at the injustice of Greeley's letter; every incitement to reveal in detail his own plan for emancipation, and to make a promise on the subject. But Lincoln refused to yield to impulses of that kind. With rare magnanimity he overlooked the personal injustice, with rare dignity he denied himself the justification that a word might have afforded, refused to enter a controversy, refused to discomfit his accuser, and prepared the public mind for the proclamation which was published September 23d.

### THE SPEECH AT GETTYSBURG

This brief speech should be memorized and made a permanent possession. Of the same quality in tone, spirit, and perfect expression, is the following letter to Mrs. Bixby, of Boston:

Dear Madam:—I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the adjutant general of Massachusetts, that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Very respectfully yours,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

## THE SECOND INAUGURAL

By the time of the second inaugural the military success of the Federal arms was assured, the Union was probably saved, and slavery was being destroyed by the victorious advance of the Union armies. For those now defeated, who had brought on the war, the great heart of Lincoln contained nothing but forgiveness. His fear was that the spirit of revenge which had begun to appear in Congress would dictate too harsh terms to the conquered and would perpetuate hatred and make real reconciliation impossible between the two sections of the country. The second inaugural address is the most magnanimous of American state papers. Its final sentence might stand as the epitaph of its writer. "This speech," says Morse, "has taken its place among the most famous of all the written or spoken compositions in the English language. In parts it has often been compared with the lofty portions of the Old Testament. Mr. Lincoln's own contemporaneous criticism is interesting. "I expect it," he said, "to wear as well as, perhaps better than, anything I have produced; but I believe it is not immediately popular. Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Almighty and them. To deny it, however, in this case, is to deny that there is a God governing the world. It is the truth which I thought needed to be told; and as whatever of humiliation there is in it falls most directly on myself, I thought others might afford for me to tell it." The address puts on the war an interpretation (p. 193, l. 15—p. 194, l. 15) at once the highest, the profoundest, and the most magnanimous, rising above all controversies as to the relative blame of the North and the South for bringing on the scourge; it is divine retribution upon the whole nation for permitting a great wrong to continue for so many years. In this interpretation Lincoln anticipated the best judgment which history has pronounced in explanation of this and other similar conflicts of the world, notably the French Revolution. The deeply religious tone, the awe and the mystery of it, indicate the humble spirit in which Lincoln would have the nation proceed to the work of restoration and reconciliation that remained to be accomplished. In connection with p. 193, l. 19 read *Genesis* 3:19; with l. 20, *Matthew* 7:1; with ll. 23-25, *Matthew* 18:7; with p. 194, l. 7, *Psalms* 19:9; with l. 11, *Isaiah* 61:1 and *Isaiah* 30:26; with l. 12, *Matthew* 20:12; with l. 13, *Psalms* 146:9.

## LAST PUBLIC ADDRESS

For the various theories of reconstruction,—the restoration or presidential theory, conquered territory theory, state suicide theory, etc., see Lalor's *Cyclopedia of Political Science and United States History*, article on *Reconstruction*. Reconstruction brought greater embarrassments than secession had brought, and aroused passions quite as fierce. The President was attacked for exercising powers that were claimed for Congress alone and for offering terms too lenient to the Southern States. The spirit of revenge, which Lincoln had feared, gained headway in Congress. The speech was delivered to a multitude that had gathered in the evening of April 11, before the White House, to express enthusiasm over the fall of Petersburg and Richmond and the surrender of Lee. It begins by generously attributing to Grant and the army all of the honor of the victory and then calmly, without the slightest hint of irritation at unjust criticism, appeals by argument and explanation for support of the humane and liberal policy in Louisiana, which was already bitterly assailed by politicians of his own party. Reasonableness, benignity, honesty of intention, greatness of heart, characterize the utterance. But so do practical sagacity, homely wisdom, and simplicity. Lincoln touched no difficult subject in his life without simplifying it by his statement. He brushes aside the fine spun theories of reconstruction with which men had befogged their minds and calls attention to the one purpose to which all should work (p. 198, ll. 6-21). Two weeks after this speech Lincoln was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth, who, in the words of Morse, "slew the only sincere and powerful friend whom the Southerners had among their conquerors."

## THE LONDON SPECTATOR ON LINCOLN

Of the countless tributes to the greatness of Abraham Lincoln, none are more instructive to the American than those coming from foreign sources. That quoted in the text is especially noteworthy for its analysis of Lincoln's literary power, as well as for its true insight into his character. Cite from the speeches of Lincoln in this volume passages that verify the points made by the *London Spectator*. Cite an example of persuasion arising from the order in which Lincoln arranges the topics of his discourse. Cite from Lincoln a case of refutation; a case of persuasion arising from logic alone; several memorable maxims of government.

## WENDELL PHILLIPS: THE SCHOLAR IN A REPUBLIC

## THE SPEAKER.

Among American agitators and reformers, Wendell Phillips stood easily the first in scholarship, culture, and gifts of speech. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1831 at the age of twenty years, attended the Cambridge Law School three years and was admitted to the bar. After practicing law for about two years, he happened one day to see a mob of Boston's best citizens assault the Abolitionist Garrison and go unmolested and unpunished for their crime, whereas Garrison himself was imprisoned. From that day Wendell Phillips's destiny was determined. He soon announced his adoption of Abolitionism and joined the hated band of "fanatics." His brilliant speech on Lovejoy's murder, delivered at Faneuil Hall, December 8, 1837, made him the recognized orator of the anti-slavery movement. In 1839 he withdrew from the law because of conscientious scruples against swearing allegiance to the United States Constitution so long as it permitted human slavery; and he ceased to vote for the same reason. He was not, as Garrison was, a non-resistant Abolitionist. He went up and down the land bitterly assailing in hundreds of speeches that are masterpieces of eloquence, the sin of slavery, the criminal partnership of the Constitution with this colossal sin, and the base silence of the church on the subject. He opposed organizing Abolitionism into a political party, for that course would mean, logically, recognition of the Constitution. He hated the timidity of the statesmen who trembled at the word disunion and who, esteeming Union above natural justice, made compromises acknowledging slavery. He demanded immediate emancipation and regarded disunion as the quickest way to accomplish it. After the War was over, and slavery had been abolished, he refused, nevertheless, to allow the Anti-Slavery Society to die until the fifteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution was adopted in 1870. Wendell Phillips did not believe that the radical movement for reform should cease with the achievement of freedom for the negro. He saw numerous other classes in the world in quite as much need of his best efforts. He stood for every claim of humanity. He spoke successively for Ireland, for Crete, for the Indian, for prison reform, for the abolition of capital punishment, for prohibition of the liquor traffic, for women's suffrage. He favored the greenback theory of money. He was against monopoly, against the vast combinations of capital later known as trusts. He died in 1884. The achievement of Wendell Phillips was greater than that of any other

American orator in this: Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Beecher, and the rest had political parties, or organized religion, at their backs; Phillips stood alone, was denounced by all political parties, and belonged to no party or church. He spent his life attacking existing institutions, and, most of his life, he spoke to audiences that were hostile to his ideas. In spite of his lack of organized support, he never lacked hearers. People could not resist going to hear him and some came away angry at themselves for having been browbeaten, or charmed (as the case might be) into applauding his unsparing denunciations of their life-long principles and prejudices. His manner was simple, quiet, undemonstrative. His voice was remarkable not for volume, or compass, but for tone. In epigram, invective, and wit, he was unrivalled. His best known lectures are "The Lost Arts," "Toussaint L'Ouverture," and "Daniel O'Connell."

#### THE OCCASION AND THE AUDIENCE.

The Phi Beta Kappa Society, founded at William and Mary College, Virginia, in 1776, has always made scholarship and capacity for high service the principal requirement of membership. An annual public address by some distinguished man has usually been a feature of its work in the various chapters. Two previous orations delivered before the Harvard chapter had proved famous,—Edward Everett's, in 1824, when he apostrophized Lafayette, who was on the platform; and Ralph Waldo Emerson's, in 1837, on the American Scholar, which was on the theme stated by Wendell Phillips on p. 209, l. 17,—p. 210, l. 2. During the stormy years before the war, Wendell Phillips and abolition received little or no approval from churches, colleges, and other established institutions. Years after the cause for which he fought had won, and he had moved forward more to other reforms, he was invited to deliver the centennial Phi Beta Kappa oration at Harvard "with the official, professional, and mercantile culture of thirty states for an audience." Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who was present, says: "It was the tardy recognition of him by his own college and his own literary society, and proved to be, in some respects, the most remarkable effort of his life. He never seemed more at his ease, more colloquial, and more extemporaneous; and held an unwilling audience spellbound, while bating absolutely nothing of his radicalism. Many a respectable lawyer and divine felt his blood run cold, the next day, when he found that the fascinating orator whom he had applauded to the echo, had really made the assassination of an emperor seem as trivial as the doom of a mosquito." The

Reverend James Freeman Clarke, an alumnus of Harvard, who was present, gives the following account: "When I knew that Wendell Phillips was to give the Phi Beta Kappa oration at Cambridge, I was very curious to know what course he would take. I said, 'He has two opportunities neither of which he has ever had before. He has always spoken to the people. Now he is invited to address scholars. He has an opportunity to deliver a grand academic discourse, and to show, that, when he chooses to do it, he can be the peer of Everett or Sumner on their own platform of high culture. He can leave behind personalities, forget for the hour his hatreds and enmities, and meet all his old opponents peacefully, in the still air of delightful studies. This is an opportunity he has never had before, and probably will never have again.'

"'But there is another and different opportunity now offered him. Now, for the first and only time, he will have face to face before him the representatives of that Cambridge culture which has had little sympathy with his past labors. He can tell them how backward they were in the old Anti-Slavery contest, and how reluctant to take part in any later reforms. If he has been bitter before, he can be ten times as bitter now. He can make this the day of judgment for the sins of half a century. This opportunity, also, is unique. It will never come again. Can he resist this temptation, or not?'

"'It never occurred to me that he would accept and use both opportunities, but he did so. He gave an oration of great power and beauty, full of strong thoughts and happy illustrations, not unworthy of any university platform or academic scholar. It was nearly, though not wholly, free from personalities; but it was also one long rebuke for the recreant scholarship of Cambridge. It arraigned and condemned all scholarship as essentially timid, selfish, and unheroic. It gave a list of the leading reforms of the last forty years, in none of which Cambridge scholarship had taken any share,—Anti-Slavery, Woman's Rights, the wrongs of Ireland, reform in criminal legislation,—and wound up the catalogue by denouncing as disgusting cant all condemnation of Russian Nihilism and its methods. He admitted, that, in a land where speech and the press are free, recourse to assassination is criminal, but defended 'dynamite and the dagger' as the only methods of reform open in Russia.'

#### QUALITIES OF THE ADDRESS.

The fitness of the subject to the audience is obvious. The frequent references, indicated by the numerous proper names, are in place with a well-read audience. The general meaning

of these numerous references is usually made clear by the context; but some, requiring specific knowledge, are explained below. Like Emerson and Macaulay, Phillips knew the effectiveness of dealing largely in proper names. Even when not accurately understood by his audience they always lent concreteness and often picturesqueness to his statements. Every one of them has a value for the historical imagination. And the effect is heightened when they are set in opposition or comparison with one another (p. 210, ll. 14-30—p. 211, ll. 5-10—p. 215, ll. 11-15). Note the steps by which the first duty of the scholar (p. 216) is reached; and the catalogue of the failures of book-learning (pp. 216-221). What fitness is there in the references on pp. 219-221? Note the indictment (pp. 221-224); the application (pp. 224-229); and the statement of the scholar's present opportunities (pp. 229-241). See also Introduction, pp. 11, 13, 30.

## REFERENCES.

- P. 209, ll. 4-8. *Whose leaders*. Voltaire and the encyclopedists.
1. 19. *Everett* (Edward, 1794-1865). Noted American orator, statesman, president of Harvard College, Secretary of State. His oration on Washington was delivered more than 100 times.
- P. 210, l. 8. *Lowell*. In "New England Two Centuries Ago" (*Literary Essays*, Vol. II), Lowell denies that the Puritans were fanatics.
1. 11. *Sir Harry Vane* (1612-62), Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony 1636-7; favored tolerating the religious opinions of Anne Hutchinson and opposed her banishment. Though a strong Puritan, and a member of the Parliamentary army, Vane opposed Cromwell's usurpation of Parliament's functions, attacked in print the Protectorate of Cromwell, and suffered imprisonment for it. After the Restoration Vane was executed as a traitor.
  1. 25. *Plato*. Plato would have welcomed Vane because of his devotion to pure and high ideals.
  1. 26. *Fènelon* (1651-1715). French ecclesiastic and writer; an idealist.
  1. 27. *Somers* (1652-1736). English jurist, statesman, patriot, scholar.  
*Carnot* (1753-1823). French military leader. Active in organizing the French Revolution.
  1. 15. *Chauncey*. Opposed the threatened establishment of Episcopacy in the Colonies. The fear that a state

church would be imposed by England was a minor cause of the American Revolution.

- P. 212, l. 24. *Not with their eyes but with their prejudices.* Compare the last paragraph of Phillips's *Toussaint l'Ouverture*, "You think me a fanatic tonight, for you read history not with your eyes, but with your prejudices."
- P. 213, l. 9. *Nightmares.* Makes a horror of New England annals when accepted as true and used as the basis of New England history.
- P. 214, l. 5. *Long Parliament.* Forcibly dissolved by Cromwell in 1650. *Vane*, its leader, opposed to Cromwell, had proposed a measure reforming the election of members in such a way as to defeat Cromwell's purpose that the army should always be represented by a majority of the members.
- P. 219, l. 31. *Scire ubi, etc.* A large part of learning is to know where to find out what you want to know.
- P. 220, l. 30. *Fremont campaign of 1856.* This first campaign of the new Republican party for the Presidency was mainly educational. Brown's execution startled the country into real thinking.
- P. 221, l. 25. From Lowell's "The Present Crisis."
- P. 223, l. 9. *Hunker.* About 1844 the name "Hunkers" came into use to describe an element of the Democratic party (mainly in New York State) that was especially conservative and unprogressive. The "Hunkers" opposed the "Barnburners," another element.
- P. 224, l. 5. *Letter to the London Times.* In 1861, Motley, the American historian, then living in London, published in the *Times* two long letters explaining the American system of government and making clear the causes of the Civil War.
- P. 225, l. 10. *Evarts and his committee.* In 1870-1 William Evarts was chairman of a committee of the New York Bar Association which took part in the prosecution of the corrupt officials known as the "Tweed ring."
- l. 17. *Credit-Mobilier.* A corporation chartered in 1863, reorganized in 1867 with increased capital, engaged in the building of the Union Pacific Railroad, which received enormous financial aid from the government. Some Senators and Representatives held stock in Credit-Mobilier and thus profited by the favors which as Congressmen they voted to the



Union Pacific Railway. This fact became known in 1872 and created scandal and political embarrassment for the corrupt Congressmen.

1. 28. *That unrivalled scholar.* Edward Everett. The charge made in the next few lines may be understood by consulting the Life of Garrison by his sons, I, 64.

P. 228, l. 5. *Sir Robert Peel* (1788-1850). English Prime Minister. Though leader of the Conservative party, he yielded to the agitation for reform and promoted free trade.

- II. 22-24. *Wilberforce* (1759-1833) and *Clarkson* (1760-1846) after long agitation secured the gradual abolition of slavery in the British colonies. *Hill* (1795-1879) secured penny postage and other postal reforms in England. *Romilly* (1757-1818) promoted the cause of prison reform and the repeal of inhuman penal laws in England. *Cobden* (1804-65) and *Bright* (1811-89) were leaders in the agitation for the repeal of the corn laws and the adoption of free trade in England. *Garrison* (1805-79), American abolitionist, philanthropist, president of the Anti-Slavery Society. *O'Connell* (1775-1847), Irish orator, agitator, leader of movements for Roman Catholic emancipation and for the separation of Ireland from England,—“the liberator.”

P. 229, ll. 1-4. From Browning's “The Lost Leader.”

1. 31. *Pierpont* (1785-1866), Unitarian clergyman, temperance and anti-slavery advocate, published *The American First Class Book, Exercises in Reading and Recitation*. He is charged with omitting passages from selections that would offend radicals of either extreme.

P. 230, l. 8. *That earthquake scholar.* Ralph Waldo Emerson.

1. 19. *Rantoul* (1805-52), Senator from Massachusetts. Anti-slavery advocate. Like the Italian economist, *Beccaria* (1738-94), he disbelieved in the death penalty for crime. *Livingston* (1764-1836), American jurist, United States Senator, Secretary of State (1831-3), compiler of the Code of Criminal Law and Procedure. Like the Scotch statesman, *Mackintosh* (1765-1832), he labored to improve and ameliorate the criminal laws.

P. 233, l. 15. *A second thought.* Untrue, as is proved by the work of Milton, Bunyan, Byron, Shelley, George Eliot,

- Dickens, Whittier, Longfellow, Emerson, Whitman, and hundreds of others.
1. 28. *Sydney Smith* (1771-1845), English clergyman, brilliant wit, keen critic, editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, advocate of Catholic emancipation and the reform bill of 1832.
- P. 234, 1. 4. *Bentham* (1748-1832), English philosopher, expounder of the utilitarian philosophy.
1. 29. *Gladstone's bill for Ireland*. The Irish land act of 1881, one great and beneficent step in the progress towards home rule for Ireland. Phillips deplors the praise of it because it did not go the full length in satisfying all of Ireland's aspirations. Gladstone's record as a Liberal and a Home Ruler nullifies this criticism.
- P. 235, 1. 29. *Chatham*. (1708-78) Leader of the radical Whigs in Parliament; denied the right of Parliament to tax the American colonies (1774-7). "If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign foe was landed on my shores, I would never lay down my arms."
- P. 236, 1. 12. *Lieber* (1800-72), German patriot, imprisoned by Prussia in 1819 and 1824 for his revolutionary sentiments. Author of songs of liberty. Removed to the United States in 1827. He was professor of political economy in Columbia University (1857-72).
11. 20-31. From Lowell's "The Present Crisis."
- P. 237, 1. 20. *Macchiavelli* (1469-1527), Italian diplomat and writer. In his book *The Prince* he considers what a successful ruler should be and betrays a most cynical and despicable view of human nature.
1. 31. *Algernon Sydney* (1622-83), English patriot and republican.
- P. 238, 1. 16. *Venetian mystery of police*. Venice has always been synonymous with mystery; the Russian police system likewise. During the Fourteenth century the government of Venice was in the hand of a "Council of Ten" whose secrecy added terror to their decrees.
1. 25. *Arnold* (1822-88), English critic, poet, lecturer.
- P. 239, 1. 4. *Beckford* (1759-1844), English romancer. His "*Vathek: An Arabian Tale*" contains the famous description of the hall of Eblis. Eblis or Iblis is the Devil of the *Koran* and of ancient Jewish rabbinical lore.
- P. 241, 11. 14-23. From Lowell's "The Present Crisis."

## HENRY GRADY: THE NEW SOUTH.

## THE SPEAKER AND THE OCCASION.

Henry Grady was born at Athens, Georgia, in 1851, and received his education in the University of Georgia. He entered journalism, and from 1880 to his death, nine years later, was editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*. He was a frequent contributor to the magazines, writing on the condition and progress of his native state and the South generally. His address on "The New South" (1886) before the New England Society in New York was hailed with delight throughout the nation as representative of the spirit of fraternalism and progress, coupled with a fine reverence for the heroic past, that is characteristic of the generation since the civil war. Almost equally notable was his address in Boston a few days before his death, on "The Future of the Negro."

## CHARACTER OF THE ADDRESS.

The introduction (pp. 242-243) is discussed on pp. 10, 13. Compared with the rest of the speech, it is less orderly and pertinent. What is the function of the second paragraph? (See p. 10.) The first section of the discussion (pp. 244-245) resolves the antithesis between Puritan and Cavalier in Lincoln. The second section (pp. 245-249), on the work of progress since the war, begins with an antithesis between the old South and the new, and contains (pp. 246-247) the most touching and picturesque description of the speech. The third section (pp. 249-250), on the negro, leads to a second contrast between the old South and the new (pp. 251-252), and this to the beautiful passage on p. 252, brave in spirit, touched with personal emotion, and ending in the climax of the speech. The note of conciliation (p. 253-254) with which the speech closes is doubly effective in its disguise as a challenge to New England. The quotation with which the speech closes is from the opening lines of Shakespeare's *King Henry the Fourth*, Part I. See also p. 11.

## WILLIAM BOURKE COCKRAN: JOHN MARSHALL

## THE SPEAKER.

Born in Ireland, in 1854, Mr. Cockran came to this country in 1871; taught school, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1876. From 1882 to 1886 he was legal counsel to the Sheriff of New York City. Prominent in law, and in politics

also, he was elected to Congress as a Democrat in 1886 and 1891. He opposed the nomination of Mr. Cleveland for the Presidency; supported Mr. McKinley in 1896; but returned to the support of the Democratic party in 1900, when the issue was imperialism.

#### THE ADDRESS.

The occasion was the centennial anniversary of John Marshall's appointment as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; the audience, the Erie County Bar Association. As an example of a skilful selection of topics when the main question, amid a wealth of material, is what to omit, and on what few points to concentrate attention, this speech, after being outlined, should be compared with the topics taken up in chapters X and XI of Magruder's *John Marshall* (American Statesmen Series). The method of enumeration (see p. 27 of the Introduction) is freely employed on pp. 255-256. Note the long contrast (pp. 257-266). The four-fold division (p. 261) furnishes the groundwork of the discussion (p. 267). The discussion of the present importance of the judiciary, with special reference to an impending decision of momentous consequences (pp. 267-274), is followed by the closing section on the judiciary as the security for peace. The cases referred to (p. 270, ll. 3-8) are those known as "The Insular Cases," and are fully reported in 182 United States Reports, 1; but a more manageable discussion of them is to be found in an address by Hon. Charles E. Littlefield before the American Bar Association at its Denver meeting, August 22, 1901. "The Insular Cases" arose out of the acquisition of Porto Rico and the Philippines by the United States after the close of the Spanish-American war and the application to this new territory of the Foraker Act, a tariff measure which applied rates, in the case of this new territory, different from rates in force for the United States. The Supreme Court was divided on all of these cases. The whole political issue of "imperialism" (as that term is employed in this country) was involved in these cases. These cases, in brief, decided that the term "United States" (at least so far as imposts and tariffs are concerned) does not include territories or other possessions; that Congress may freely determine when new territories are to be "incorporated" into the Union, may create such forms of government as it sees fit for all regions that are outside of the limits of the States and owned by the United States, and may legislate differently, in its discretion, for different parts of the national domain outside of the States.

JAMES BURRILL ANGELL: PATRIOTISM AND  
INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD

## THE SPEAKER.

Dr. Angell was born in Rhode Island in 1829, was graduated at Brown University when twenty years of age, and became professor of modern languages and literatures there in 1853. During the civil war he was editor of the *Providence Daily Journal*. In 1866 he was appointed president of the University of Vermont, and in 1871 president of the University of Michigan. In 1908 he retired from the active presidency and was immediately chosen president emeritus. For many years he has been the acknowledged leader in state university education and one of the greatest in education generally. He is an authority on international law and diplomacy. He was Minister to China in 1880-1 and one of three commissioners to negotiate a new treaty with China, a member of the Commission on Canadian Fisheries in 1887, chairman of the Canadian-American commission on a deep waterway from the Great Lakes to the sea in 1896, and Minister to Turkey in 1897-8. He has been a regent of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington since 1887.

## THE ADDRESS.

A baccalaureate address, delivered June 23, 1896, before the class about to be graduated from the University of Michigan, this discourse is especially remarkable for its foresight and timeliness. The Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty was signed at Washington, January 11, 1897. It provided for just such courts for the settlement of disputes between the United States and Great Britain, and for the same classes of cases as are named in ll. 20-33, p. 286. The sort of opposition which the treaty encountered in certain political quarters in this country is indicated on pp. 284-285. Although the intelligence of the country was overwhelmingly in favor of the treaty, the United States Senate failed to ratify it. The result was renewed discussion and final victory on a much larger scale than had been anticipated. The Hague Peace Conference assembled May 18, 1899. Its most important act was the creation of a permanent court of arbitration for the peaceable settlement of international disputes, and the first resort to this tribunal was made by the United States and Mexico in 1902. On the method of this address, see the Introduction, p. 24. Consider also the adaptation of the subject matter to the special audience addressed (especially pp. 288-290), and the sources of persuasion, as indicated on pp. 293, 295.







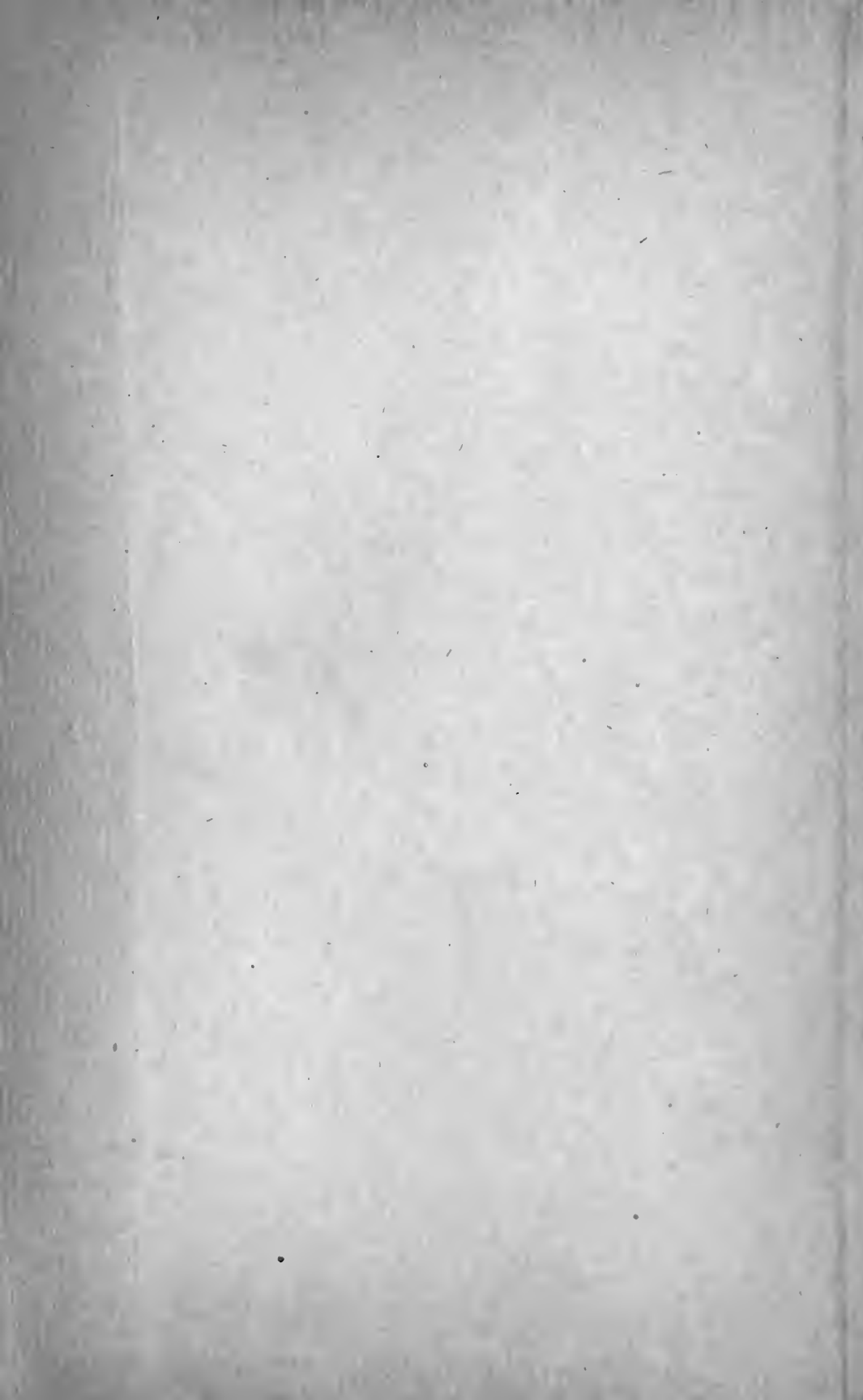




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